THE HISTORY OF INDIA

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As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS
OF THE LATE
SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof John Dowson



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TABAKAT-I AKBARI

OF

NIZAMU-D DIN AHMAD, BAKHSHI

PART TWO

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 14th Ramazan, 975 H. (14th March, 1568). At the beginning of this year the Emperor left Ajmir, and proceeded by way of Mewat towards Agra. On his journey, he passed a jungle which was the abode of lions (*sher*) and tigers (*babar*). A terrible tiger (*sher*)[1] came out, and His Majesty's followers, who were constantly in attendance upon him, discharged their arrows and stretched him in the dust. His Majesty then gave orders, that if a like thing should occur again, they were not to shoot until he directed them. As they went on, another tiger (*sher*), larger and fiercer than the first, came out and made towards the Emperor. No one of the attendants dared to fire without orders The tiger-hunting King alighted from his horse and levelled a musket at the beast. The ball grazed the animal's face, inflicting a slight wound, which caused him to rush from his place towards His Majesty. The Emperor fired a second time and brought him down. At this juncture, 'Adil Muhammad Kandahari, boldly placed an arrow to his bow, and faced the animal, which then turned away from the Emperor and attacked him It brought him to the ground, and was about to take his head in his mouth That brave fellow, in his supreme moment, thrust his hand into the animal's mouth, and sought to draw his dagger to stab him in the belly. But the handle of the dagger stuck in the sheath, and the beast gnawed the flesh and skin of the hand which was in his mouth. Notwithstanding this, 'Adil managed to draw his dagger, and inflicted some deep wounds in the animal's belly. Brave men

[1] *It was in all probability a tiger, although the author would seem to use the words 'sher' and 'babar' distinctively.*

gathered round on all sides and finished him. 'Adil Muhammad received a sword-cut besides the wounds the tiger had given him. He lay for some time on the bed of pain before he died of his wounds.

After the tiger hunt the royal camp moved towards Alwar, and directions were given that it should proceed thither, while the Emperor himself went to pay a visit to Shaikh Nizam Narnauli. He then returned to the camp, and proceeded with the army to the capital.

After a stay of some months at Agra, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantambhor, renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindustan. An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of Chitor. Ashraf Khan *Mir-munshi* and Sadik Khan were sent on this service with a large portion of the Imperial army. When these *amirs* had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, who had escaped from the hands of Changiz Khan, in Gujarat,[2] and had laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Malwa. The Emperor then directed that Kalij Khan, with the *amirs* and the army that had been sent to Rantambhor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirzas.

The two forces united, according to the order. On approaching Sironj, Shahabu-d din, the ruler of that *sarkar*, came forth to meet them. He joined them and marched on with them. When they encamped at Sarangpur, Shah Bidagh Khan joined them with his forces. The army had now grown very large. When the Mirzas were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Mandu. Muhammad Murad Khan

[2] *"The Mirzas did not get on amicably with Changiz Khan, and were tyrannical in their 'jagirs,' so they fled from him."—Badauni, vol. ii., pp. 106, 199.*

and Mirza 'Azizu-lla, who had been besieged in Ujjain, being thus released, came out and joined the *amirs*. All marched together in pursuit of the Mirzas, who fled before them from Mandu to the banks of the Nerbadda. They crossed this river in such confusion that many of their men were drowned. Just at this time Jajhar Khan Habshi murdered Changiz Khan, the ruler of Gujarat, in the *tripauliya maidan* of Ahmadabad. When the Mirzas heard of this, they seized the chance which it afforded, and fled to Gujarat. The Imperial *amirs* turned back from the river Nerbadda, and the *jagirdars* of Mandu returned to their *jagirs*. Kalij Khan and the other *amirs* proceeded to Court, and were received with royal favour. On reaching Gujarat, the Mirzas first seized upon the fort of Champanir,[3] and then marched against Broach, to which they laid siege. After a while, they by stratagem got into their power Rustam Khan Rumi, who was besieged in the fort, and put him to death.[4] The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place.

In the course of this year Mir Muhammad Khan-i kalan, Kutubu-d din Muhammad Khan, and Kamal Khan Ghakar, *jagirdars* of the Panjab, were summoned to Court. They hastened to obey, and in Rabi'u-l awwal, 976 H., they arrived and made their offerings. Husain Kuli Khan and his brother Isma'il Khan were summoned from Nagor, and appointed to the government of the Panjab instead of them. The *jagir* of Muhammad Khan-i Kalan, in the *sarkar* of Sam

[3] *"And Surat."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 418.*

[4] *The fort was held by Rustam Khan, a Turki slave, in whose house the sister of Changiz Khan had taken refuge. He fought bravely, and held out for two years; but being left without help, he was at length obliged to surrender, and was then "in a base and dastardly manner put to death"—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 418.*

bal, became a *tankhwah*. When the Emperor marched to conquer Rantambhor, Husain Kuli Khan was his personal attendant in the campaign. But after the reduction of Rantambhor, and the return of His Majesty to Agra, Husain Kuli Khan and his brother Ismail Kuli Khan took leave and departed to the Panjab. On the 1st Rajab, the Emperor marched from Agra against Rantambhor. Proceeding to Dehli, he stayed there some days and went out to a *kamurgha* hunt, in the neighbourhood of Palam, where four or five thousand animals were killed.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year agreed with 5th Ramazan, 976 H. (22nd February, 1569). The Emperor marched at the opening of the year towards Rantambhor, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, *sabats* constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon.

Rai Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence, and he sent out his two sons, Dudh and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Husain Kuli Khan, who had received the title of Khan-jahan, into the fort to give assurances to Rai Surjan. He did so, and brought the Rai to wait upon the Emperor, when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the royal servants.[5] On Wednesday, 3rd Shawwal, the conquest of the fortress was accomplished, and on the next day the Emperor went in to examine the place. He placed Mihtar Khan in command of the fortress, and then prepared to return to the capital. Leaving the army under

[5] *See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 408.*

the command of Khwaja Aminu-d din Mahmud, who was entitled Khwaja-jahan, and Muzaffar Khan, the Emperor left them to conduct the army back to the capital, while he made a hasty journey to pay a visit to the tomb of Faizu-l anwar Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti. He remained there a week, and then departed for Agra, where he arrived on Wednesday, 4th Zi-l ka'da, 976. Darbar Khan, one of his personal attendants, had been compelled by sickness to continue with the army, and he died before His Majesty reached Agra. Upon his return His Majesty went into the Khan's dining-hall, and made a princely provision for his family.

FOUNDATION OF THE TOWN OF FATHPUR

The Emperor had several sons born to him, but none of them had lived. Shaikh Salim Chishti, who resided at the town of Sikri, twelve *kos* from Agra, had gladdened him with the promise of a son The Emperor went to visit the Shaikh several times, and remained there ten or twenty days on each occasion. He commenced a fine building there on the top of a hill, near the Shaikh's monastery. The Shaikh also commenced a new monastery and a fine mosque, which at the present day has no equal in the world, near the royal mansion The *amirs* also built houses and mansions for themselves. When one of the Emperor's wives became pregnant, he conveyed her to the dwelling of the Shaikh and left her there. Sometimes he stayed there himself, sometimes at Agra. He gave the name of Fathpur to Sikri, and built a *bazar* and baths there.

CONQUEST OF KALINJAR

This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultans had been ambitious of taking it. Sher Khan Afghan (Sher Shah) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it, as has been narrated in the history of his reign. During the interregnum of the Afghans,

Raja Ram Chandar[6] had purchased the fort at a high price from Bijilli[7] Khan, the adopted son (*pisar-i khwanda*) of Bihar Khan Afghan. The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Rantambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held *jagirs* in the neighbourhood of Kalinjar were constantly forming plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Raja Ram Chandar was a prudent and experienced man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victories achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Majnun Khan Kakshal, one of the *jagirdars* of that quarter, and a friendly *farman* was sent to Raja Ram Chandar. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of Safar, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.

BIRTH OF PRINCE SULTAN SALIM MIRZA

On Wednesday, 18th of Rabi'u-l awwal, 977 H., and the fourteenth year of the reign, when seven hours of the day had passed, the exalted prince Sultan Salim Mirza was born in the house of Shaikh Salim Chishti in the town of Fathpur. The Emperor himself was in Agra at that time, and the joyful tidings was conveyed to him by Shaikh Ibrahim, son-in-law of Shaikh Salim, who was right royally rewarded. In thanksgiving for this happy event, gifts were distributed among the people, prisoners were set free, and great feasts were held, which were kept up for seven days with great pleasure and rejoicing. The date of the birth is found in the words *Shah-i al i*.

[6] *"Raja of Panna".—'T. Alfi.' See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 406.*

[7] *"Ali Khan, the reputed son of Bihar Khan 'Azam Humayun, and son-in-law of Sher Khan (Sher Shah)." —'T. Alfi.'*

Timur. Khwaja Husain composed an ode, of which the first line contained the date of the Emperor's accession, and the second the date of the prince's birth. The Khwaja received a present of two lacs of *tankas* for this ode, and several other poets received rewards for their productions. The Emperor made Fathpur[8] a royal abode, raised a stone fortification round it, and built some splendid edifices, so that it became a great city. Before the prince was born, the Emperor had resolved in his own mind, that if the Almighty granted his wishes, he would go a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of *Muradu-l anwar Kutbu-l wasilin* Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti. Having prepared his offerings, on Friday, the 12th Sha'ban, 977, he started on foot from Agra for Ajmir. Every day he travelled seven or eight *kos*. He visited the shrine, and performed the usual observances immediately upon his arrival. He passed some days there, and then left Ajmir for Dehli, where he arrived in Ramazan, 977.

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, the 6th Shawwal, 977 H. (14th March, 1570). ...On Thursday, the 3rd Muharram, 978, the star of good fortune shone, and the Emperor had another son, Prince Murad, borne to him in the house of Shaikh Salim. In gratitude for this blessing, he opened the hand of liberality, and gave away many munificent gifts, and men were enriched by his bounty. The nobles and officers of the Court presented offerings suitable to their respective ranks, and received robes of honour. Maulana Kasim Arslan on this occasion wrote a couplet, of which the first line contained the date of the birth of Prince Salim, and the second that of Prince Murad.

MARCH OF THE EMPEROR TO AJMIR

The Emperor was accustomed, wherever he might

[8] *Now known as Fathpur-Sikri. See supra.*

be, to pay a visit every year to the tomb of Mu'inu-l hakk wau-d din Hasan Sanjari at Ajmir. In this happy year, on the 8th Rabi'u-l Akhir, 978, he started for that place, in order to show his gratitude for the boon granted to him. He stayed twelve days at Fathpur, in order to make some necessary arrangements for his journey. He arrived at Ajmir in due course. To show his favour, and to improve the condition of the place, he ordered a strong wall to be built round it, and a palace to be erected in it for his own residence. The *amirs* and *khans,* and attendants of the Court, vied with each other in erecting dwellings there. He distributed the villages and lands and houses of Ajmir among his *amirs,* to enable them to pay the expenses of the new buildings. On Friday, 4th Jumada-l akhir, he left Ajmir, and arrived in sight of Nagor on the 16th. Here there is a large tank, which he ordered his soldiers to dig and fill with water. He himself inspected the tank, and gave in the name of *Shukr talao.*

While he was thus staying at Nagor, Chandar Sen, son of Rai Maldeo[9] came to pay his allegiance, and make his offerings. Raja Kalyan Mal, the Raja of Bikanir, also came with his son, Rai Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being manifest, the Emperor married Kalyan Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people of Nagor. From thence he proceeded to Ajodhan, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Faridu-d din Mas'ud Ganj-i shakar. Rai Kalyan Mal, who was so fat that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikanir; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion, as will be related in the proper place.

There were many wild asses (*gor-khar*) in this desert country, and His Majesty, who had never hunted

[9] *"Ruler of Marwar."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 133.*

this animal, was desirous of doing so One day as he was journeying on, the scouts brought information that there was a herd of wild asses in the vicinity of the camp He immediately mounted a fleet courser, and after a ride of four or five *kos*, came in sight of the herd He got off his horse, and commanded all his followers to remain quiet He himself, with four or five Biluchis, who were acquainted with the country, approached the herd with guns in their hands At the first shot he struck an ass, and the remainder of the herd, being frightened by the noise, dispersed His Majesty cautiously approached, and struck another, and so on, until sixteen asses fell by his hand That day he travelled nearly seventeen *kos* in hunting, and at the close returned to the camp By his order the sixteen asses were brought to the camp in carts and their flesh was distributed in front of the royal tent among the *amirs* and courtiers Then he proceeded towards Ajodhan, and on arriving in sight of the place he went on immediately, and performed all the ceremonies of pilgrimage, and distributed his bounty among the poor

From thence he proceeded towards Lahore, and when he arrived at Dipalpur, the *jagirdar* of that *pargana*, Mirza 'Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash, who bore the title of 'Azam Khan, and was well known as Mirza Koka prepared an entertainment, and begged him to stay there a few days and rest His Majesty graciously consented, and remained there For some days feasting went on, and upon the last day splendid offerings were presented to him Arab and Persian horses, with saddles of silver, huge elephants, with chains of gold and silver, and housings of velvet and brocade, and gold and silver, and pearls and jewels, and rubies and garnets of great price chairs of gold, and silver vases and vessels of gold and silver, stuffs of Europe, Turkey, and China, and other precious things beyond all conception Presents of similar kind also were presented for the young princes and the Emperor's wives All the ministers

and attendants and dignitaries received presents, and every soldier of the army also participated in the bounty.

SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 17th Shawwal, 978 H. (13th March, 1571 A.D.).

At the beginning of this year His Majesty departed from Dipalpur for Lahore, and Hasan Kuli Khan, the governor of that city, hastened forth to receive him. Leaving his camp at Malkapur, the Emperor went on speedily to Lahore. He passed that day and night in the house of Hasan Kuli, and next day the Khan presented his gifts. On the following day the Emperor returned to the camp, and after spending a few days in the vicinity of Lahore, he set off for Hisar-Firozah, on a visit to the shrine of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din.

Nahid Begam was wife of Muhibb 'Ali Khan son of Mir Khalifa, and her mother was wife of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, the ruler of Thatta. Mirza 'Isa being dead, Nahid Begam had received leave from His Majesty about a year before this date to go to Sind, to see her mother, and bring the daughter of Mirza 'Isa to pay homage to the Emperor. Muhammad Baki Tarkhan now occupied the seat of his father, and would have nothing to do with Nahid Begam. She therefore returned in anger to the Emperor, and made a statement of the harshness and tyranny of Muhammad Baki, and of the disrespect he had shown to the Emperor's servants. She said that if the Emperor would permit and support her husband Muhibb 'Ali Khan, he could easily effect the conquest of Thatta. As Nahid Begam was returning from Thatta, she had some conversation at Bakar with Sultan Mahmud Bakari who was one of the officers of Mirza Shah Husain Arghun, and his *koka;* and, after the death of Mirza Shah, Bakar remained in his possession. This Sultan Mahmud Salai Samarkandi told Nahid Begam that if Muhibb 'Ali Khan would undertake the conquest of Thatta, he would join and assist him, and that he would

have no need of any further support. In consequence of this promise, Nahid Begam was very desirous of going to Sind. Muhibb 'Ali Khan had for a long time given up the military life, so the Emperor granted him a banner and a kettle-drum, and he gave him a *jagir* of fifty lacs of *tankas* in the *sarkar* of Multan, towards the expense of the campaign. He also sent with him his daughter's son Mujahid, a young man of resolution and courage, and he wrote a *farman* to Sa'id Khan, the ruler of Multan, directing him to support Muhibb 'Ali Khan.

When the Emperor left the Panjab for Fathpur his royal residence (*daru-l khilafat*), he sent Muhibb Ali on his expedition. Upon arriving at his *jagir* in Multan, Muhibb 'Ali set about collecting men, and got together nearly 400 horse. Relying upon Sultan Mahmud Bakari, he wrote letters to him, and began his march. But Sultan Mahmud was adverse to the entrance of any Imperial forces into his territory, so, disregarding the promises he had made to Nahid Begam, he sent to say that he would not allow Muhibb 'Ali to pass through his country; but that if Muhibb 'Ali would march by way of Jesalmir, he would send his army to him, and render him all the assistance he could.

Muhibb 'Ali, and his grandson Mujahid, took a bold course, and proceeded towards Bakar. Sultan Mahmud sent his whole army to oppose them, but his men were defeated, and obliged to seek refuge in the fort of Manila. Mujahid and Muhibb 'Ali Khan besieged the fort for six months, and at length obtained possession of it by capitulation. At this time Mubarak Khan, a slave of Sultan Mahmud's who acted as his *vakil,* being aggrieved with his master, went and joined Muhibb 'Ali. The latter having increased his force, laid siege to Bakar. Sultan Mahmud sent out his army, amounting to nearly 2000 horse and 4000 foot, archers, and gunners. They were defeated in battle and driven back into the fort. For three years Sultan Mahmud sometimes daily, sometimes every two or three days, sent out armed ships and

ghrabs to fight. Three times he sent out his whole army, horse and foot, to fight a regular battle, but each time he was defeated. In consequence of the large number of men which he had crowded into the fort, pestillence and sickness[10] broke out and became very fatal, so that 500 to 1000 persons died daily. At length, in the year 983, Mahmud himself died, and the fort came into the possession of the Emperor's adherents.

When the Emperor left the Panjab and proceeded to Fathpur, Mun'im Khan Khan-khanan came from Jaunpur, bringing Sikandar Khan with him. The offences of Sikandar Khan were pardoned, and the *jagir* of Lucknow was conferred upon him. Khan-khanan quickly returned to secure his Bengal frontier. Sikandar Khan also took his leave, and was sent along with Khan-khanan to his *jagir*. Each received a jewelled sword-belt and four horses with golden saddles. Soon after his arrival at Lucknow, Sikandar Khan fell sick, and died on the 10th Jumada-l awwal, 979 H.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday. 25th Shawwal, 979 H. (11th March, 1572 A.D.)

CAMPAIGN IN GUJARAT[11]

In the Court of the Emperor conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarat, and information was often brought about the oppression and wilfulness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its

[10] *"ufunat o bimari." Badauni (vol. ii., p. 135) calls it "waba."*

[11] *"Gujarat had for a long time had no legitimate master, and its amirs were quarrelling with each other, and oppressing the peasants. 'Itimad Khan was minister of the country, but was not able to keep it in his grasp, and each chief in his own city considered himself supreme ruler of Gujarat."—Tarikh-i Alfi.*

towns and cities. Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarat. The order was given for the assembling of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmir. On the 15th Rabi'u-l awwal, he paid a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, and gladdened the hearts of the *shaikhs* and attendants with his munificent gifts. Next day he made a visit to the tomb of Saiyid Husain Khang-sawar, a descendant of Zainu-l 'abidin, which is on the top of a hill at Ajmir. Next day, Mir Muhammad Khan Atka, better known by the title of Khan-i kalan, was sent on in advance with 10,000 horse, and His Majesty followed on the 22nd Rabi'u-s sani.

Two stages from Nagor, messengers brought him the news that in the night of Wednesday, 2nd Jumada-l awwal, a son was born to him (at Ajmir)[12] He spent several days in rejoicing, and made many happy by his munificence. As the child had been born in the house of Shaikh Daniyal, one of the most pious and celebrated *shaikhs* of the time, he gave the prince the name of Daniyal. After the rejoicings were over, he again marched and arrived at Nagor, on the 9th Jumada-l awwal There he remained fourteen days employed in arranging for the supply of his army.

From thence he marched to Mirath, and there he was informed that when Mir Muhammad Khan came near to Sirohi, the Raja of that place professed subjection and obedience, and sent some Rajputs as envoys to wait upon the Mir. The envoys arrived and delivered their message. Mir Muhammad Khan gave them an appropriate answer and fine robes and then, according to the etiquette observed among the people of India, he

[12] *Badauni, vol. ii., p. 139.*

dismissed them with his own hand.[13] One of those desperate envoys at that moment stabbed the Khan in the breast, and the weapon pierced through to his back under the shoulder. Bahadur Khan, a young man and a servant of the Khan, who was standing behind Sher Khan, but now has his place among the nobles, rushed forward. and seizing the Rajput. dashed him to the ground. Muhammad Sadik Khan, who was seated by the side of the Khan. arose and despatched the accursed wretch with his dagger. When this intelligence reached the Emperor. on the same day he sent Lashkar Khan *Mir-bakhshi* to inquire after Mir Muhammad Khan. and next day he marched forward himself. Sadik Muhammad Khan and the other *amirs* called in surgeons, who dressed the Khan's wounds. and by the Emperor's good fortune the severe wound was cured in fifteen days, and the Khan mounted his horse with his quiver girt upon his loins.

The Emperor continued his march. and on the 8th Jumada-s sani formed a junction with the advanced force. When he reached Sirohi, eighty Rajputs in a temple and seventy in the Raja's house stood ready to perform the vow they had made to die. In a few moments they were all despatched. Dost Muhammad, son of Tatar Khan. perished in the Raja's house. At this stage His Majesty resolved to send one of his officers to make sure of the territory of Joudhpur, and keep the road to Gujarat open, so that none of the Ranas might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon

[13] *"When the envoy was taking leave, according to the custom of the country, he asked for pan, and the Khan taking some in his hand, called him forward to give it to him. The envoy then drew a dagger (jamdhar) from his bosom, and stabbed the Khan in the breast. . . . The attendants of the Khan killed all the followers of the ambassador, although they denied any complicity in the shameful deed."—T. Alfi.*

Rai Singh Bikanini,[11] who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops *Farmans* were written to the *amirs* and *jagirdars* of that province, directing them to render Rai Singh every assistance he might require

At this stage Yar 'Ali Turkoman with an escort of Turkomans, came as an ambassador from Sultan Muhammad Mirza, and from Shah Tahmasp, King of Khurasan bringing with them Arab and Persian horses, and other presents They were received by His Majesty with all due state and honour The Emperor then marched from Sirohi to Pattan Nahrwala, and when he arrived near the fort of Disa, which is twenty *kos* from Pattan, intelligence was brought that the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi had taken off their troops and families towards Idar The Emperor sent Raja Man Singh in command of a detachment after them On the 1st Rajab 980, the army arrived in sight of Pattan, and rested there for a week The government of the country was conferred upon Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the *Saiyids* of Hindustan At this halt Raja Man Singh returned bringing in a lrage booty, which he had taken from the remnant of the Afghans

The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadabad Sher Khan Fuladi had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadabad, which was held by 'Itimad Khan,[12] but when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight The Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Pattan, when Sultan Muzaffar, son of Sultan Mah

[11] *'Rai Singh of Bikanir was sent to Joudhpur to keep the road to Gujarat open, and to prevent any annoyance from Rana Kika, chief of Kokanda and Kombalmir"—Badauni, vol ii, p 146*

[12] *'The slave and prime minister of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati"—Badauni, vol ii, p 141 He was originally a Hindu slave See Ain i Akbari, vol ii, p 385*

mud Gujarati, whom, 'Itimad Khan had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor, and on Sunday,[16] the 9th Rajab, was admitted to an interview. Next day, 'Itmad Khan, the ruler of Ahmadabad, Mir Abu Turab, Saiyid Ahmad Bukhari, Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, Malik Ashraf, Wajhu-l Mulk, Ulugh Khan Habshi, Jajhar Khan Habshi, and other *amirs* and chiefs of Gujarat, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and make their offerings. 'Itimad Khan presented the keys of Ahmadabad, and showed every sign of submission.

The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the *Habshis* (Abyssinians), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and royally towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th Rajab, pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadabad. The *khutba* was read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings. On the 20th Rajab, Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari brought their wives into the royal camp. On the same day Jalal Khan who had been sent on an embassy to a Rana returned.

Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Muhammad Husain Mirza held Broach, Baroda, and Surat[17] in defiance of

[16]*According to Abu-l Fazl, Sultan Muzaffar separated from Sher Khan Fuladi, and wandered about without aim or purpose. Akbar sent a party to search for him. He was found hiding in a corn-field, and was brought to the Emperor, who treated him very kindly.—Akbar-nama, (There is here a lacuna of about six months in the Lucknow edition of the Akbar-nama).*

[17]*Ibrahim Mirza held Baroda, Muhammad Husain held Surat, and Shah Mirza had Champanir.—Akbar-nama.*

the Emperor, so he resolved to free the country of Gujarat from their rebellious power On Monday, 2nd Sha'ban, he started from the river of Ahmadabad and marched towards Kambay 'Itimad Khan and other of the Gujarat *amirs* were at the request of some of the great officials allowed to remain behind in Ahmadabad for a few days to arrange their affairs Seizing this opportunity, Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujarat, fled on the 4th Sha'ban from Ahmadabad to Ahmadnagar As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujarat, 'Itimad Khan was given into the custody of Shahbaz Khan Kambu On the 6th the Emperor reached Kambay He went to look at the sea and leaving Kambay on the 12th, he reached Baroda on the 14th After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujarat, he appointed Mirza 'Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash the *Khan-i 'azim* to be the governor of the country and especially of its capital Ahmadabad

A DETACHMENT SENT TO INVEST SURAT

After the departure of the *Azam Khan*, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat, which was the home and stronghold of the Mirzas To effect this purpose he sent Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha, Shah Kuli Khan Mahram Khan-i 'alam Raja Bhwagan Das Kunwar Man Singh and several others to overpower Husain Mirza, who was in Surat Next day, 17th Sha'ban, when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibrahim Mirza Khan, having heard at Broach of the Emperor's advance, had murdered Rustam Khan Rumi[18] and then left the town intending to pass about eight *kos* distance from the Emperor's camp and to raise disturbances and rebellion elsewhere

On hearing this the Emperor's wrath was kindled

[18] "*Who was desirous of returning to his allegiance*" —*Akbar nama*

He instantly gave orders that Khwaja-jahan, Shuja'at Khan, Kalij Khan, and Sadik Khan should take charge of the young prince Salim, while he went to chastise Ibrahim Mirza. He took with him Malikhu-sh Shark Gujarati, who was well acquainted with the roads, and he sent Shahbaz Khan *Mir Bakhshi* in all haste, to recall to his side Saiyid Muhammad Khan, and the forces which had marched against Surat.[19] The remainder of that night, and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahindri.[20] Ibrahim Husain Mirza was in the town of Sarnal, on the other side of the river. When they heard this, the Emperor's followers endeavoured to conceal themselves.

At this crisis, Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha, Kuli Khan Mahram Khan-i 'alam, Raja Bhgwan Das, Kunwar Man Singh,....Bhoj, the son of Surjan, and others of the force sent against Surat, by a forced march came up and joined the Emperor. Kunwar Man Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men[21] the Emperor, without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over.

Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who had with him about 1000 horsemen, on perceiving this bold movement, went out of the town of Sarnal by another road, telling his

[19] *The force he took with him numbered about 2000 men.—Akbar-nama.*

[20] *Abu-l Fazl calls the river also "Sakanir."—Ib. There is a "Sinnole on the Maujam river, thirty miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.*

[21] *The text says distinctly that the whole of the Emperor's men did not exceed one hundred. Firishta makes them 156. Badauni (vol. ii., p. 142), however, states that Man Sing crossed the river with 100 men. See Extract from Akbar-nama, infra.*

amen that he intended to give battle in the open The road between the river and the fort was very broken, so Kunwar Man Singh, and the advance under his command, took another road, and the Emperor passed by a road to the gate of the town by the water side Some of the enemy, whose blood was up, made a stand in the street, and showed fight Makbul Khan, a Kalmuck slave, who on that day went in front of the Emperor, cut one of them down and wounded several others

It was now discovered that Ibrahim Husain had quitted the town, and the Emperor gave orders for the pursuit The troops accordingly left the walls and went out into the plain and there the two parties confronted each other Ibrahim Husain made an attack upon Baba Khan Kakshal, who had been sent forward with a party of bowmen Although these made a stout resistance, they were driven back a short distance But every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy Bhupat, son of Raja Bihar Mal, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack But the royal forces were in a contracted spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was all hedged in with thorns The Emperor had, with great courage gone to the front, and Raja Bhagwan Das had kept with him Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Raja As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Raja Bhagwan Das hurled his spear at him and severely wounded him, so that he withdrew The other two assaulted His Majesty, who received them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off

At this time Makbul Khan Ghulam and Surokh[22]-Badakhshi joined His Majesty, and he sent them in pursuit of his assailants The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to

[22] *One MS invariably calls him "Iraj"*

desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was disheartened, and took to flight. Some brave men pursued him, and cut down several men on their way. But the night came on darker than the fate of that band, so the Emperor gave orders to pursuit. Ibrahim Husain Khan, glad to save his life, made off with a few persons by the Ahmadnagar road to Sirohi. The Emperor went into the town of Sarnal, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in *jagirs*.

Next day the Emperor started on his return to the royal camp, but he sent on in advance Surokh Badakhshi, whose conduct in this affair had gained the royal aprobation, to carry news of the victory in the princes. When the news arrived, the princes and the ladies of the *harem*, and the *amirs* and the officials, swere filled with joy sufficient to last them their lives. On Wednesday, the 18th Sha'ban when one watch of the night was passed, the Emperor rejoined his camp at Baroda. Next day he conferred a banner and a kettle-drum on Raja Bhagwan Das, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

MARCH AGAINST SURAT

The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong, and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said, that a slave of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati, Safar Aka by name, who received the title of Khudawand Khan, built this fortress on the sea shore[23] in the year 947, in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, for before the fort was built, the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the Musulmans. When Khudawand Khan was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times fitted out ships to attack it, but could not succeed in their object. Khudawand Khan then called for his architect, a very clever man, to provide for the security of the fort.

[23] *"On the shore of the Persian gulf," but is really on the river Tapti, twenty miles from the sea.*

After a little reflection, the careful builder determined on his plan. On the two sides of the fort which face the land, he formed ditches reaching to the water, which were twenty yards (*dara'*)"[24] wide, and filled with water, they were built of stone, *chunam*, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls"[25] is five yards, and the height twenty yards, and these are likewise built of stone, *chunam*, and burnt brick. The thickness of the four walls is fifteen yards, and the height twenty yards. It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with cramps of iron having molten lead poured into the interstices. The battlements and embrasures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a *chaukandi*"[26] which, in the opinion of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of the fortress by force of arms, they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudawand Khan, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the structure.

After the death of Changiz Khan, the fortress came into the possession of the Mirzas. When the Emperor marched into Gujarat, the Mirzas placed all their soldiers in the place, and left it under the command of Hamzaban, who had formerly been one of the orderlies (*korchian*) of the Emperor Humayun, but had fled from the Imperial Court, and joined the rebels. The Mirzas themselves did their best to stir up war and strife outside.

[24] *Badauni (vol ii, p 146) uses 'gaz' as the equivalent of "dara'"*

[25] *diwar i dutahi*

[26] *This word is used for the 'howda' of an elephant, and so by inference may mean a watch tower or a cupola; or perhaps it was something in derision of Christianity. Badauni uses the word "ghurfa, upper room" as an equivalent. See Sir H Elliot's note in the Extract from Badauni*

When Ibrahim Husain Mirza was defeated and put to flight at Sarnal, the Emperor returned to Baroda, and renewed his design of conquering Surat. He sent forward Shah Kuli Khan and Sadik Khan, with instructions to invest the fort so that no one could get out. Upon this movement becoming known to the garrison, Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Prince Kamran and wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, took her son Muzaffar Khan Mirza with her, and fled to the Dekhin before the arrival of the Imperial forces. When the *amirs* heard of her escape, Shah Kuli Khan Mahram pursued her for fifty *kos*, and returned unsuccessful, but some of the Begam's servants fell into his hands. Some days afterwards the Emperor sent Raja Todar Mal to examine and ascertain precisely the inlets and outlets of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report.[27]

His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Baroda on the 25th Sha'ban, and encamped at the distance of a *kos* from Surat on the 18th Ramazan. On the same night he went up and reconnoitred the fort. He distributed the batteries among his *amirs*, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it. But the chief carpet-spreader brought to his knowledge through the *amirs* that there was near at hand a tank called Goli-talab, and although the bank of the tank was close to the fort, the uneven ground and the trees would prevent balls from reaching it. So the order was given for the removal of the royal tents to this spot.

The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for nearly two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress or egress was closed. (The soldiers and the followers of the *amirs* collected a

[27]*He considered its reduction an easy matter, not requiring the presence of the Emperor.—'Akbar-nama.' Badauni, vol. ii., p. 144.*

vast quantity of earth, and raised a high mound, which commanded the fort And the gunners and musketeers stationed upon the mound kept up a fire that greatly harassed the garrison, and prevented the men from moving about or bringing anything up Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place, was a mere matter of today or tomorrow When the garrison perceived the state of affairs),[28] they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress

The wretched disloyal Hamzaban and all the people in the fort sent out Maulana Nizamu d din Lari, who was a student and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter The Maulana was conducted to the royal tent, and made his plea for mercy through the *amirs* and officials The chief *amirs* reminded His Majesty that the batteries had been advanced very forward, and when they saw that he was inclined to mercy, they remarked that the garrison had resisted and fought with all their might so long as they had any power, and now that they saw that the fall of the place was imminent, they were ready to beg for mercy His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition Maulana Nizamu d din Lari was allowed to pay his homage to the Emperor, and being dismissed, he returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded

A royal order was then issued for Kasim 'Ali Khan

[28]*The passage in parenthesis is not given in the MS. of the E I Library, but is found in the margin of the Nawab Jhajhar's copy, from which Sir H Elliot's was transcribed It is written in a different hand from that of the MS, and does not fit in very well, with the context; but it is found in Badauni (vol ii, p 144) There are other similar additions, which are in accord with Badauni, and the probability is that they have been borrowed from his work*

Surat, several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibrahim Husain Mirza to Hindustan, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Sarnal, Ibrahim fled to the neighbourhood of Pattan, where he joined Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza, and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Surat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibrahim Husain Mirza should go into Hindustan and create disturbances, while the other two Mirzas, along with Sher Khan Fuladi, laid siege to Pattan: their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Surat, and fall back upon Ahmadabad, to repress these two outbreaks.[34] Having induced Sher Khan Fuladi to join them, they invested Pattan. Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha (the governor) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders that Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan and . . . all the *jagirdars* of Malwa, Raisin, and Chanderi, and all the other nobles and adherents of the Imperial throne, such as . . . . . should assemble under the command of 'Azam Khan to repress this rebellious attempt.

The nobles accordingly joined 'Azam Khan and marched to Pattan. When they were five *kos* distant from Pattan, Muhammad Husain Mirza and Sher Khan Fuladi came forward to meet them.[35] The Mirzas fell upon the advance and defeated it. They then attacked

[34]*Abu-l Fazl's view is different. He says that Ibrahim, who was as able with the sword as he was wanting in sense, quarrelled with his brothers, and left them with the crude design of making an attempt on the capital.—Akbar-nama.*

[35]*Abdu-l Fazl and Faizi state that the rebels endeavoured to treat and gain time for the arrival of expected reinforcements.—Akbar-nama.*

the right, which was under Kutbu d din Muhammad Khan, and defeated it also Shah Muhammad Atka received a wound and fled These two divisions being broken, fled towards Ahmadabad Kutbu d din's camp was plundered, and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari[36] was killed When 'Azam Khan saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Bukhari, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight But Bidagh Khan, who was himself a man of war, held his bridle, and would not let him go When the enemy's men dispersed in search of plunder, and there remained but few in array, 'Azam Khan, with Bidagh Khan, formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre By God's help victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side[37] Sher Khan Fuladi, in a forlorn and helpless state, went to Amin Khan, the ruler of Junagarh, and there found refuge Muhammad Husain Mirza fled to the Dekhin This victory was won on the 18th Ramazan, 980

'Azam Khan, after setting things in order at Pattan, left Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha in command as before and went to the Emperor, whom he joined under the fort of Surat, on the 20th Shawwal, and reported the devotion and bravery of the *amirs* and all the troops On his way back, he sent Kutbu d din Muhammad Khan and some other *amirs* to Ma'murabad, in order to chastise Ikhtiyaru l Mulk* and the defeated troops who were scattered in the jungles and forts Kutbu d din drove Ikhtiyaru l Mulk and the other *Habshis* out of the jungles, took possession of the forts, and left his own garrisons in them When the Emperor departed from

[36] *He held the jagir of Dulala —Faizi*

[37] *Abu l Fazl attributes the victory to Kutbu d din, who rallied his broken forces, and led them again to the fight*

**He had escaped from prison at Ahmadnagar — Badauni, vol ii, p 149*

Panjab. He plundered Panipat, Sonpat, Karnal, and other places on his route. Many plunderers and adventurers joined him and inflicted great wrongs upon the people.

When he reached the Panjab, Husain Kuli Khan Turkoman, *Amiru-l umara* of the Panjab, was engaged with the forces of his province in besieging Kangra, well known as Nagarkot. On hearing of the Mirza's arrival, Husain Kuli Khan set off with his brother Ismail Khan, ... and other *amirs*, and by forced marches came up with the Mirza near the town of Tulambha, forty *kos* from Multan. He was returning from hunting free from apprehension and in disorder, when he was attacked. His men were dispersed and were unable to reach him. His brother Masud Husain Mirza, who had come up before him, attacked the troops of Husain Kuli Khan, but was taken prisoner. Ibrahim Husain Mirza being unable to do anything, made off. Upon arriving near Multan, he wanted to pass the Gara, which is the name of the river formed by the junction of the Biyah and Satlej. But it was night, and he had no boats, so he rested on the bank. A party of *Jhils*, who are fishermen dwelling about Multan, made an attack upon him in the night, and the Mirza received a wound in his throat from an arrow. Seeing no other means of escape, he quickly changed his clothes, and separating from his people, endeavoured to get away. But some of the people of that country recognized him, took him prisoner, and carried him to Sa'id Khan at Multan, and in the custody of the Khan he died.[43]

On the 12th Muharram, 981, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, and observed the usual ceremonies, and dispensed his customary gifts. He re-

[43]*He had received a severe wound, and died soon after his capture.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 12. Badauni, vol. ii., p. 159.*

mained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances. From thence he started for the capital, and on reaching Sanganir, he left his camp and went on express, with a few attendants to Fathpur. In two nights and one day he reached the town of Bachuna, twelve *kos* from Fathpur. To secure an auspicious time, he remained there three days, and on the 2nd Safar he arrived at Fathpur.

MARCH OF HUSAIN KULI KHAN AGAINST NAGARKOT

(There was a brahman named Brahma Das, a bard (*badfarosh*), who was distinguished above all his compeers for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindi verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of Kab Rai, chief of poets).[44]

When the Emperor's favour was alienated from Raja Jai Chandar, Raja of Nagarkot, he issued orders for putting him in confinement. The Raja's son, Badi Chand, although a minor, assumed the place of his father, and deeming him as dead, broke out in revolt. The Emperor having given to Kab Rai the title of Raja Birbal,[45] bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot. Hereupon *farmans* were sent to Husain Kuli Khan, and the *amirs* of the Panjab commanding them to take Nagarkot from Badi Chand, and place it in the possession of Raja Birbal.[46] Birbal in Hindi signifies courageous and great, so his title means "Brave and mighty Raja".

[44]*This passage is another marginal addition apparently taken from Badauni.*

[45]*In the MSS. the name is more frequently written "Birbar"; but the more familiar form has been here adopted.*

[46]*Abu-l Fazl places this transaction in the seventeenth year of the reign.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 426.*

When the Raja arrived at Lahore, Husain Kuli Khan,. . . . . and other nobles of the Panjab, set out for Nagarkot. On reaching Damhari, the holder of that place, whose name was Choto, and who was a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort which he had strengthened, kept himself in private, and sent two *vakils* with his offerings. He also sent a message excusing himself from attending in person, on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook the duty of keeping the roads clear. Husain Kuli Khan presented the *vakils* with robes and sent them back. Leaving a party of men at a village situated near the opening of the road, he went onwards.

On arriving at the fort of Kutila, he pitched his camp. This fort is a very high one. It formerly belonged to Raja Ram Chandar of Gwalior;[47] but Raja Dharm Chand and Raja Jai Chand had obtained possession of it by force.

The officers left in charge of the fort by Raja Jai Chand discharged muskets and arrows and stones against the troops who had dispersed in search of plunder, and inflicted some damage. Upon hearing of this, Husain Kuli Khan mounted his horse with the other *amirs* to reconnoitre the place. He ascended a hill which is opposite to the fort, and commands it. With great labour some guns were brought up the hill, and fire was opened upon the fort. Its cracked masonry was shattered by the balls. A large number of men stood under the walls, and great loss was suffered. As evening approached, he returned to the camp, leaving a force in charge of that position. During the night, the Rajputs who were in the fortress, and were terrified by the cannonade, made their escape. In the morning Husain Kuli Khan, beating his drums, marched into the fort of Kutila, which he delivered over to the Raja of Gwalior, to whose ancestors it had formerly belonged; but he left a garrison of his own there.

[47] *The Gwalior in the hills.*

Continuing his march, he came to a thickly wooded country, through which it was difficult even for an ant or a snake to creep, so a party of men was set to cut a road through the jungle On the 1st Rajab, 990, he encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot The fortress (*hisar*) of Bhun, which is an idol temple of Mahamai, and in which none but her servants dwelt, was taken by the valour and resolution of the assailants at the first assault A party of Rajputs, who had resolved to die fought most desperately till they were all cut down A number of Brahmans, who for many years had served the temple, never gave one thought to flight, and were killed Nearly 200 black cows belonging to the Hindus during the struggle, had crowded together for shelter in the temple Some savage Turks, while the arrows and bullets were falling like rain, killed these cows one by one They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple

The outer fortications having fallen, the buildings were destroyed and levelled to make a camping ground After this the fort was invested *Sabats* were formed, and a mound commanding the fort (*sar kob*) was raised Some large guns were also placed upon a neighbouring hill and were fired several times a day upon the fort and the residence of the Raja One day the commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place which the Raja had thought to be safe, and in which he was sitting at meat The ball struck the walls, and killed nearly eighty people who were within the building Among them was Bhuj deo, son of Raja Takhat Mal

In the beginning of Shawwal, letters came from Lahore with the intelligence that Ibrahim Husain Mirza had crossed the Sutladz (Satlej), and was marching upon Dipalpur Husain Kuli Khan held a secret council with the *amirs* about the course necessary to be pursued The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace so Husain Kuli Khan felt

constrained to accede.[48] The infidels undertook to pay a large tribute: five *mans* of gold, Akbarshahi weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Raja Jai Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Hafiz Muhammad Bakir read the *khutba* in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle of Shawwal, 980. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor, gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the *khutba* read, and the ocins stamped with the Emperor's name, Husain Kuli Khan marched away.

He then proceeded against Ibrahim Husain Mirza. At the town of Jamari he paid a visit to the holy Khwaja 'Abdu-sh shahid, who presented him with his garment, and sent his blessings with him. When he reached Tulambha, he achieved the victory, which has already been described. Upon His Majesty arriving at Fathpur after his campaign in Gujarat, Husain Kuli Khan took Mas'ud Husain Mirza with him, and went to wait upon the Emperor. The other prisoners, nearly 300 in number, were presented to the eyes of the Emperor with cow-hides placed on their necks in a strange fashion.[49] The eyes of Mas'ud Husain Mirza

[48]*Husain Kuli required each of the 'amirs' to give him a written opinion, signed and sealed, in favour of granting a capitulation. Abu-l Fazl gives a somewhat different version of the terms. 1. The Raja was to send his daughter to the Emperor's harem. 2. To pay a proper tribute. 3. To give his children and some relations as hostages for the surrender of the fort, if the Emperor refused to ratify the peace. 4. To compensate Raja Birbal for the loss of his 'jagir.'—'Akbar-nama,' vol. iii., p. 10. Faizi Sirhindi incorporates the versions of the 'Tabakat' and 'Akbar-nama.'*

[49]*"Charmahae gao dar galu andakhtah." Such are the words in the text and in Faizi. Charm-i gao means a thong or lash, the American "cow-hide"; but Abu-l Fazl*

were sewed up, but the Emperor in his kindness ordered them to be opened. Several of the prisoners were liberted, but some, who had taken a leading part among the rebels, were kept in custody. On the same day Sa'id Khan arrived, brining with him as an offering the head of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, and he received distinguished marks of favour.

When the Emperor returned from Gujarat, there remained no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands of his servants, and such of his troops as had not served on the campaign were sent to strengthen 'Azam Khan. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outbreaks came in time after time, and 'Azam Khan himself wrote for reinforcements.

EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN GUJARAT

When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarat, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men, who had crept into corners and hidden themselves in dread of the royal forces, once more raised their heads. Having assembled round Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk,[50] they got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory.

Muhammad Husain Mirza left the Dekhin[51] with the intention of attempting the recapture of Surat. Kalij Khan, who was *jagirdar* of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege; so Husain Mirza gave up the project, and made a rapid march upon Kam-

makes the matter clear. He says, "The prisoners were brought in cow-skins, from which the horns had not been taken away."—Akbar nama, vol. iii., p. 14.

[50]*He was in the neighbourhood of Idar, and was supported by Rai Narain, the zamindar of that place.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 13.*

[51]*The neighbourhood of Daulatabad.—Ib. p. 14.*

bay.[52] Hasan Khan Karkarah, the *Shikkdar,* being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadabad.[53]

Khan-i 'azam sent Naurang Khan and Saiyid Ahmad Bukhari against the Mirza, while he himself marched to Ahmadnagar and Idar against Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk. When Naurang Khan and Saiyid Bukhari approached Kambay, Muhammad Husain Mirza came out to meet him. Sharp fighting went on for several days, and Saiyid Jalal, son of Saiyid Bahau-d din Bukhari, was killed. At length the Mirza was worsted, and fled to join Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk. 'Azam Khan, who had marched against Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him, and fighting went on for several days between Ahmadnagar and Idar with no decisive result.

Intelligence now came that the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi, the son of Jajhar Khan, and Mirza Muhammad Husain had joined Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, and had formed the plan of making a rapid march by a different road to Ahmadabad. On being informed of this, Khan-i 'azam marched for that city, and when he reached it he sent a messenger to summon Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan from Broach, who accordingly marched and joined Khan-i 'azam at Ahmadabad. Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk and Muhammad Husain Mirza, and the other insurgents, got together a force of 20,000 men—Mughals, Gujaratis, Habshis, Afghans, and Rajputs—around Ahmadabad. The Raja of Idar also kept up a connexion with them.

Khan-i'azam and Kutbu-d din, being unable to depend upon some of their men, shut themselves up in the town, but sallied out every day, and fought under the walls. One day Fazil Khan, son of Khan-i kalan, went out and made a bold attack upon the enemy, and

[52]*He got possession of Broach on his way.—Ib. p. 13.*

[53]*Abu-l Fazl imputes negligence to Hasan Khan.—Ib. p. 13.*

killed several men, but he was slain by a thrust from a spear Khan-i-A'zam daily sent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for assistance The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gujarat, to clear the country of the rebels and to uproot their families

The Emperor summoned his clerks and officials and gave them directions to provide for the outfit of an army The former campaign had lasted a year, and the men through the length of the march were without accoutrements After returning they had not had sufficient time to get money from their *jagirs* to replace their necessaries His Majesty therefore issued money from the public treasury to the soldiers, and made libtral grants for procuring the materials of war He sent Shuja'at Khan[1] on in advance with his camp equipage and he sent with it his horses under the charge of Khwaja Aka Khan He personally enjoined the *diwani* officers to use the greatest despatch in outfitting the army To expedite matters he on the same day sent the men of his advanced guard out of the city to join his camp equipage He frequently said that although he was exerting himself in the organization and despatch of the army no one would be ready sooner than himself to take his part in its work

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[62] *About five miles south east of Pattan*

amirs of the Panjab the benefit of his experience and advice in the management of the province. All the *amirs* of the Panjab took their leave with Khan-jahan, excepting Mirza Yusuf Khan. The Mirza and Muhammad Zaman, who exhibited great intelligence, were to accompany the Emperor. Sa'id Khan, the Ruler of Multan, was sent to his *jagir,* taking with him his brother Makhsus Khan, who had been promoted.

In the early morning of Sunday, 24th Rabi-u'l akhir, 981, the Emperor, with his companions and attendants, mounted swift she-camels,[55] and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Toda,[56] without drawing rein. There he ate what he could get and continued his journey. On the morning of Monday, he took a short rest at Hans-mahal, but quickly resumed his journey. One watch of the night of Tuesday had passed, when he reached the village of Mu'izabad.[57] He was now fatigued,[58] and several of his attendants had dropped behind, so he stayed a few hours to take rest. After his attendants had come up, he mounted a fast-going cart,[59] and travelled all night. On Tuesday he

[55] *Abu-l Fazl (vol. iii., p. 18) agrees. The words used are jummaza* and *naka; and the annotator of the Akbarnama, gives as an explanation the Hindi sandni. According to Badauni (vol. ii., p. 165) the animals were bukhtis, or two-humped camels. Faizi uses both terms, jummaza and bukhti.*

[56] *About seventy miles W. by S. from Agra. "He proceeded by way of Basawar and Toda, and accomplished 100 kos in two days. On the 26th he arrived at Ajmir."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 165.*

[57] *Thirty miles S. W. from Jaipur.*

[58] *According to Faizi, his limbs had to be anointed with oil, to assuage the effects of the friction.*

[59] *Here the T. Alfi says they rode on swift female camels, but Abu-l Fazl agrees as to the carriages.—Akbarnama, vol. iii., p. 19.*

reached the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti (at Ajmir)[60] where he went through the usual observances, and bestowed his gifts upon the poor. He rested for a while in the palace, which he had built for his own use, but towards the end of the day he mounted his horse, and continued his journey. Among his attendants when he started were Mirza Khan, son of Khan-khanan Bairam, Asaf Khan Koka, Zain Khan Koka, and .... The night was bright moonlight. In the morning they joined Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, and Muhammad Kuli Khan *Taghbani*, who had been sent on in advance from Fathpur. The intelligencers now brought the information of the royal army having marched. His Majesty alighted at the town of Pali,[61] which was near at hand, and then, having chosen Khwaja 'Abdu-lla, Asaf Khan Bakshi, and Raisal Darbari, he took them along with him. On the 2nd Jumada-l awwal, 981, he reached the town of Disa, twenty *kos* from Pattan, in Gujarat, where the *shikkdar* .... came forth to meet him. His Majesty now sent Asaf Khan to Muhammad Khan directing him to collect his forces, and join the party at the town of Balisana, five *kos* from Pattan. In the middle of the night His Majesty started from Disa for Balisana, and turning aside from Pattan, came in sight of Balisana[62] in the morning, and there halted. Here he was joined

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An order was now issued for all the troops to appear fully armed and accoutred. The *amirs* accordingly brought out their men, and the Emperor reviewed them. Although he had full trust and hope of heavenly assistance, he neglected no material means of success. He gave the command of the centre, which is the place of the Sultan, to Mirza Khan, son of (the late) Khan-khanan Bairam Khan, a young man of great parts and promise. He also appointed Saiyid Muhammad Khan Barha, a man of great bravery, and Shuja'at Khan and Sadik Khan to the centre. The command of the right was given to Mir Muhammad Khan-i kalan, and that of the left to Wazir Khan. The advance, composed of a number of brave fellows, was placed under the command of Muhammad Kuli Khan and Tarkhan Diwana. His Majesty kept under his own immediate direction 100[63] horsemen, men who had been picked out from a thousand—a reserve intended to support any division which might be hard pressed. Strict orders were issued that no man was to stray from his place.

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force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle[64] Orders were accordingly given to attack them, and drive them from the road, but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort Leaving the fort untouched, in obedience to orders, the army marched five *kos* from Kari, where it rested till dawn

As soon as it was light, the *bakhshis* drew up the forces, and marched on without drawing rein to a place about three *kos* from Ahmadabad Orders were given for every man to arm himself, and the royal armoury was opened, so that every man who had lost or damaged a weapon might choose one to suit him Asaf Khan was sent to Khan i 'azam, to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction Thus, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Fathpur to the outskirts of Ahmadabad, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine,[65] were asleep on the bed of heedlessness quite unaware of the approach of the royal army The feeling ran through the royal ranks, that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unawares and that they would wait till he was roused[66] When the blast of the trumpets was heard the enemy, in amaze and alarm rushed to their horses[67] Muhammad Husain Mirza advanced with two

[64] *Under the command of Rohya, an officer serving under Sher Khan Fuladi—Akbar nama, vol iii, p 23*

[65] *This is probably figurative Badauni (vol ii, p 166) employs a more common simile, 'the sleep of neglect'*

[66] *The battle was fought on the 5th Jumada l awwal—Akbar nama vol iii, p 26*

[67] *Some thought a reinforcement had arrived for themselves, and others that it was a force come from*

or three horsemen to the bank of the river to ascertain the truth, and it so happened that Subhan Kuli Turk had also gone down to the river with two or three men from our side. Muhammad Husain Mirza called out to Subhan Kuli, inquiring whose army it was, and he was answered that it was the Emperor, who had marched from Fathpur to punish traitors. The Mirza replied, "My spies have informed me that fourteen days ago the Emperor was at Fathpur; and if this is the Imperial army, where are the royal elephants which always accompany it?" Subhan 'Ali said. "How could elephants have travelled with us 400 *kos* in nine days?" Muhammad Husain Mirza returned amazed and troubled to his army, and drawing out his forces, he prepared for battle. He directed Ikhtiyar Khan to take 5000 horse, and prevent Khan-i 'azam from sallying out of the city.

When the time for delay drew to an end, the Emperor directed the advance to cross the river, and that Wazir Khan also should cross with the left. This being done, he himself crossed over at the head of his chosen men. Some little confusion occurred in the passage, but the troops all got over together, and advanced a short distance on the other side, when a strong force of the enemy came in view. Muhammad Husain Mirza, with 1500 Mughals,[68] all devoted men of his own, came up and fell upon the advanced force under Muhammad Kuli Khan and Tarkhan Diwana. Simultaneously the Habshis and Afghans attacked Wazir Khan, and then the fight grew close and warm.

The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness and distress in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the royal forces came up and took them in flank. Saif

Pattan to support Khan-i kalan.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 26.

[68] *The name is generally spelt "Mughul" in this work.*

Khan Koka made a rash charge and was killed. Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled. The royal troops advanced and cut off some. His Majesty with several of his men drew up and stood fast. Muhammad Husain Mirza had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a thorn hedge, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, a Turk named Gada 'Ali, who pursued him, threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner.

Wazir Khan on the left fought well and bravely, but the Habshi and Gujarati troops made charge after charge, until they became acquainted with the defeat of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza. Then they also turned their backs. Mir Muhammad Khan on the right drove back the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi, and put many of their men to the sword. Victory now declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouchsafed.

Gada 'Ali Badakhshi and a servant of Khan-i kalan now brought in the wounded Muhammad Husain Mirza a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Raja Birbal asked him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty;" and he spoke the truth. His Majesty spoke a few kind words to him, and gave him into the custody of Rai Singh. Among the prisoners taken was a man named Mard Azamai Shah, who declared himself the Koka of Mirza Ibrahim Husain. His Majesty struck him to the earth with a spear, and the attendants cut him to pieces with their swords. It was afterwards found out that he had killed in the battle of Sarnal, Bhupat, brother of Raja Bhagwan Das.[69]

[69] *According to Abu-l Fazl, it was the knowledge of*

An hour after the victory was won, another large division of the enemy[70] made its appearance, and the vedettes brought the information that it was Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk Gujarati. He had been charged with the duty of closing the road against 'Azam Khan, but when he heard of the defeat of the Mirzas, he left the city roads and came out into the field. His Majesty ordered a force to advance and assail him with arrows. When he came in sight, some fierce horsemen charged and otherthrew the troop which preceded him. Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk in his fright cast a look upon the hill whereon the royal standard was planted, and he (and his men) ran off on both sides of it in such disgraceful panic that the royal troops pulled the arrows out of the quivers of the fugitives, and used them against them. A Turkoman named Suhrab Beg now recognised Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, and pursued him. Coming to a thorn hedge, the fugitive endeavoured to make his horse leap over, but the animal threw him. Suhrab Beg dismounted and took him prisoner. Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk said, "You look like a Turkoman, and the Turkomans are followers of 'Ali. I belong to the Saiyid of Bokhara, do not kill me." Suhrab Beg replied, "recognized you and pursued you. You are Ikhtiyaru Mulk." Thus having said he cut off his head and r turned to mount his horse, but some one had taken it, he wrapped the head in the skirt of his garment a walked back. At the time that Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk adva ed towards the hill on which the Emperor was standi the Rajputs of Rai Singh, who had charge of Muh mad Husain Mirza, cast the Mirza off an elephant to ground, and despatched him with a spear.

After the victory, 'Azam Khan and the other of who had been besieged in the city came out to the

this fact which induced the Emperor to kill h Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 36.

70 *"More than 5000 in number."—Akbar-nam iii., p. 37; Badauni, vol. ii., p. 168.*

peror, who bestowed upon the Khan many marks of his approval To every one of the Khans he gave promotion or other distinctions, and he had hardly finished with them, when Suhrab Beg Turkoman came up and threw down the head of Ikhtiyaru l Mulk When the Emperor saw it, he praised him and liberally rewarded him, and then he ordered that a pyramid should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and these were more than 2000 in number After this he proceeded into Ahmadabad, and occupied the royal abode, which is in the citadel The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and con gratulations He rested five days in the citadel, and then he removed to the house of 'Itimad Khan, in the middle of the city

His first act was to see that all those who had ren dered good service in this campaign, especially those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allow ances Eloquent scribes were employed to write des patches of the victory, and the heads of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Ikhtiyaru l Mulk were sent to be hung up over the gates of Agra and Fathpur

After attending to the wants of the poor people of Ahmadabad, he sent Kutbu d din Muhammad Khan and Naurang Khan to Broach and Champanir, to uproot the power of Shah Mirza Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahram, Lashkar Khan Mir Bakhshi, and several others, were sent to Idar, to ravage the country which Rana Udi Singh had abandoned The government of Pattan was again confided to Mir Muhammad Khan (Khan i Kalan) Wazir Khan was appointed to Dulaka and Danduka, and he was to support Khan i 'azam

When the Emperor had made all his arrangements he resolved to return home, and on Sunday, 16th Jumada l awwal, he left Ahmadabad for Mahmudabad, and rested in the lofty and fine palace of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat Khwaja Ghiyasu d din 'Ali Bakhshi, who had

to the rulers of the Dekhin, returned, bringing with him the presents they had sent to His Majesty.

On the 16th Shawwal the Emperor went to pay a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din at Ajmir, for although he had visited it this year on his return from the second campaign in Gujarat, he had now determined upon an invasion of Bengal; and as this campaign might last longer than a year, he might be prevented from making his usual pilgrimage: so he determined to proceed thither at once, and offer up his prayers for divine help in his war against Bengal. He accordingly set out on the 16th Shawwal, 981, and remained till the 20th in the village of Dair.[73]...At this place Dilawar Khan, assisted by the Emperor's orderlies (*yasawals*), was directed to protect the cultivated land in the vicinity of the camp; and besides that, trustworthy men were appointed to carefully examine the land after the camp had passed, and were ordered to place the amount of any damage done, against the government claim for revenue. This practice became a rule in all his campaigns, and sometimes even bags of money were given to these inspectors, so that they might at once estimate and satisfy the claims of the *raiyats* and farmers, and obviate any interference with the revenue collections. Continuing his journey and hunting as he proceeded, he arrived at a spot seven *kos* from Ajmir, on the 12th Zi-l ka'da. Next day he went on foot to pay his visit to the tomb, and from thence he repaired to his palace in Ajmir. There he remained twelve days, visiting the tomb everyday, and enriching the poor with his bounty.

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

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pur on Saturday, 7th Jumada-l akhir, having been absent forty-three days.

EVENTS AFTER THE EMPEROR'S RETURN TO FATHPUR

One the 25th of Jumada-l akhir, the ceremony of circumcising the young princes was performed, amid great rejoicings and congratulations. The time was now arrived for beginning the education of Prince Salim, so on the 22nd Rajab His Majesty appointed Maulana Mir Kalan Harawi to be his tutor, and to instruct him in the creed and the Kuran.[72]

Muzaffar Khan, who had been formerly appointed to the government of Sarangpur, in the territories of *Ahmadabad, was summoned to Court, and on the 4th* Rajab he was appointed *wazir* or prime minister of Hindustan, and received the additional title of 'umlatu-l Mulki. The general management of the affairs of the country was committed to his hands.

The debts of Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari, who was killed at the battle of Pattan, and of Saif Khan Koka, who fell in the second campaign of Ahmadabad, were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury. The total amounted to one *lac* of Akbarshahi rupees, equal to 2500 *tumans* of 'Irak. Such a fact has not been recorded of any king in books of history.

Raja Todar Mal, who had been sent to settle the revenues of Gujarat, having made the necessary arrangements, now returned, bringing the accounts of his settlement, and suitable presents for His Majesty. He was highly applauded. After a few days the Emperor gave him one of his own swords and sent him along with Lashkar Khan Mir-bakhshi to serve under Khan-khanan Mu'nim Khan, and assist in the conquest of Bengal.

Mir Muhsin Rizwi, who had been sent on a mission

[72] *The translation of this and other unimportant passages of this section is abridged.*

rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of Asaf Khan, and he was appointed *diwan* and *bakshi* of Gujarat, so he remained behind with Khan-i 'azam. The Emperor travelled by night from Dulaka to Kari, and from Kari also by night to Sitapur. Here a despatch was received from Raja Bhagwan Das, and Shah Kuli Mahram, reporting the capture of the fort of Barnagar,[71] and a letter of thanks was returned. He made no other halt till he reached Sirohi, where he gave Sadik Khan a commission to chastise rebels and robbers. On Wednesday, 3rd Jumada-l awwal, 981, he reached Ajmir, and immediately went to visit the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, and made liberal donations to the poor. Next day he departed, and marching night and day, he reached the village of Puna, three *kos* from Sanganir, in the *jagir* of Ram Das Kachhwaha. Here Ram Das had prepared an entertainment for His Majesty and all his attendants.

At this station Raja Todar Mal, who had been directed to fit out a thousand boats (*kishti*) and *ghrabs* at Agra, had an interview with His Majesty. The revenues of Gujarat had not been paid up satisfactorily, so the Raja was sent to ascertain and settle the assets, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer. The Emperor started again at midnight, and rode to Toda, which he reached on the morning of the 6th, and, after resting for a while, he again mounted and reached Basawar in the middle of the night, where he was met by Khwaja-jahan and Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, who had come out of Fathpur to meet him. At dawn he again started and went to the town of Bajuna, where he remained till the following day. He then ordered his attendants to march into Fathpur with spears in their hands. He himself followed, riding upon a gray horse, and holding a spear in his hand. Thus he reached Fath-

[71] *About thirty miles east of Pattan.*

Khwaja, who is the helper and protector of kings, the Emperor started on his return from Ajmir on the 23rd Zi-l ka'da. Hunting as he went along, he arrived at Fathpur on the 17th Zi-l hijja.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST PATNA AND HAJIPUR

Sulaiman Kirani, one of the *amirs* of Salim Khan Afghan (Salim Shah), and ruler of Bengal and Bihar, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign in the year 981 H. His eldest son Bayazid succeeded, but he was murdered by the *amirs*,[74] and the younger son Daud was raised to the throne. The Emperor was informed that Daud had stepped out of his proper sphere, had assumed the title of king, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna, which Khan-zaman built when he was ruler of Jaunpur. A *farman* was immediately sent to Khan-khanan, directing him to chastise Daud, and to conquer the country of Bihar.

At that time Daud was at Hajipur, and his chief noble, Lodi, who was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Rohtas, and set up a claim to independence. Khan-khanan Mu'nim Khan marched with the Imperial forces against Patna and Hajipur. Lodi, knowing the destruction of the Afghans to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Daud, made a sort of peace with Khan-khanan. The old friendship and respect which Khan-khanan had for the late Sulaiman Kirani led him to agree that, upon the payment of two *lacs* of *rupees* in money and one *lac* in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial

[74] *"In consequence of his evil conduct."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 173. According to Abu-l Fazl, the nephew and son-in-law of Bayazid, whose name was Hansu, took an active part in his removal. He in his turn was killed by Lodi, and Daud was placed upon the throne.—Akbarnama.*

to the rulers of the Dekhin, returned, bringing with him the presents they had sent to His Majesty.

On the 16th Shawwal the Emperor went to pay a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din at Ajmir, for although he had visited it this year on his return from the second campaign in Gujarat, he had now determined upon an invasion of Bengal; and as this campaign might last longer than a year, he might be prevented from making his usual pilgrimage: so he determined to proceed thither at once, and offer up his prayers for divine help in his war against Bengal. He accordingly set out on the 16th Shawwal, 981, and remained till the 20th in the village of Dair.[73]...At this place Dilawar Khan, assisted by the Emperor's orderlies (*yasawals*), was directed to protect the cultivated land in the vicinity of the camp: and besides that, trustworthy men were appointed to carefully examine the land after the camp had passed, and were ordered to place the amount of any damage done, against the government claim for revenue. This practice became a rule in all his campaigns, and sometimes even bags of money were given to these inspectors, so that they might at once estimate and satisfy the claims of the *raiyats* and farmers, and obviate any interference with the revenue collections. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he proceeded, he arrived at a spot seven *kos* from Ajmir, on the 12th Zi-l ka'da. Next day he went on foot to pay his visit to the tomb, and from thence he repaired to his palace in Ajmir. There he remained twelve days, visiting the tomb everyday, and enriching the poor with his bounty.

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 17th Zi-l ka'da, 981 H. (11th March, 1574 A.D. After paying his visit to the tomb of the hol

73 "*Four kos from Fathpur.*"—*Badauni, vol.* ...
p. 171.

precautions for combating his enemies and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Lodi had concluded, he banished all care.

When the death of Lodi was reported to Khan-Khanan and his circle, which was full of *amirs* of renown, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakhnauti, and marched against Patna and Hajipur. In high spirits he arrived in the vicinity of Patna. Daud now deeply regretted the murder of Lodi, who, by his wisdom, and judgment, and devotion, had kept the affairs of Bengal in order. He marched towards Patna and was at first resolved upon battle; but he afterwards recoiled from trying an action, and resolved to take shelter in his fortifications Khan-Khanan was delighted when he was informed of this resolution, and he already foresaw the conquest of Patna and Hajipur. Daud, without drawing a sword or shooting an arrow, retired precipitately into the fort of Patna, and set about repairing the works.

Khan Khanan, with the concurrence of the *amirs*, proceeded to invest Patna. Upon hearing this, the Emperor determined to personally direct the operations against Patna and Hajipur. Acting after resting for a few days at Fathpur, he sent off his camp and elephants by land under the command of Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, one of his chief *amirs*. He placed Agra in charge of Shahabu d din Ahmad Khan Naishapuri and embarked on board a boat on Sunday the last day of Safar, 982 H. The young princes went with him. The boats carried all his equipments and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen utensils, stud, etc., wo large boats were specially prepared for his modation, in which he embarked with The boats required by the *amirs* for their establishments were in the rear of and so they started. On arriving at of Ratambh, one of the dependencies of and sent a letter to Khan-Khanan Mu'

forces should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jalal Khan Krori, he entered into a peace with Daud.

But Daud was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Katlu Khan, who had for a long time held the country of Jagannath and of Sridhar Hindu Bengali, and through his own want of judgment, he seized Lodi his *amiru-l umara,* and put him in confinement under the charge of Sridhar Bengali. When in prison, Lodi sent for Katlu and Sridhar, and sent Daud this message, "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good. And this is my advice: After I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time."

The power of Daud and of all the Afghans was on the wane: it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Daud resolved to put Lodi out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his own satisfaction. Katlu Khan and Sridhar Bengali had a bitter animosity against Lodi, and they thought that if he were removed, the offices of *vakil* and *wazir* would fall to them, so they made the best of their opportunity. They represented themselves to Daud as purely disinterested, but they repeatedly reminded him of those things which made Lodi's death desirable. Daud, in the pride and intoxication of youth, listened to the words of these sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Daud became the master of his elephants, his treasure, and his troops. But he was puffed up with conceit and folly, and took no

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Khan advised the Emperor to advance as hitherto, himself by boat and his army by land; and he requested that some horses might be sent to replace those that had been rendered useless by the rains.[81] Horses and arms were accordingly sent. Khan-khanan and the other *amirs* advanced two *kos* from Patna to meet His Majesty, who, on the 16th Rabi'u-s sani reached his destination, and took up his abode in the tents of Khan-khanan. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were made.

On the 17th Akbar called a council of war in the tents of Khan-khanan, when he observed that the siege had now lasted a long time, that he was resolved upon reducing the place, and upon crushing the defenders, so that they should be unable to make ony further resistance either in the city or in the country. He thought that the best course to pursue was to first reduce the fort of Hajipur[82] which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patna, and that their operations must be directed to that object. The Khans greatly applauded this scheme. At that same council Khan-'alam was sent off with three thousand men in boats, with the materials required for a siege. Raja Gajpati, the zamindar of that country, who had many armed adherents, was directed to support Khan-'alam.

Next day, the 18th, Khan-'alam crossed the river, embarked immediately, and went to lay siege to Hajipur, while the troops marched by land.[83] In order to see the field, His Majesty mounted a battery of Shaham Khan Jalair, which was upon a hill on the bank of the Ganges,

[81]*The weather continued very stormy; heavy rains fell, and the waters were much out.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 76.*

[82]*A fort which stood opposite to Patna; the Ganges, about two kos in width, flowing between them."—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 73.*

[83]*He went up the Gandak.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 75.*

and from which Hajipur was visible As however, he could get no certain information of what was passing in the evening he sent a party of men in three boats towards Hajipur to gain intelligence When the enemy saw these boats approaching, they sent eighteen boats full of fighting men against them But the three Imperial boats prevented them from advancing, and by hard fighting cut their way through, and joined Khan alam Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor[84] Fath Khan Barha commander of Hajipur, and many Afghans, were slain, and the place fell into the hands of Khan alam The head of Fath Khan Barha and the heads of other Afghans were thrown into boats and sent to the Emperor After offering his thanksgiving for this victory he sent the heads of Fath Khan and of the others to Daud that he might see with his own eyes what had befallen his officers and might be led to reflect upon his own position When Daud s eyes fell upon these heads he was plunged into dismay and set his mind upon flight

On the same day the 16th the Emperor went out upon an elephant to reconnoitre the fort and the enviorns of the city, and he ascended the Panj pahari which is opposite the fort This Panjpahari or "Five domes ' is a place built in old times by the infidels with burnt bricks in five stages The Afghans who were on the walls and bastions of the fortress saw the Emperor and his suite as he was making his survey, and in their despair and recklessness they fired some guns at the Panj pahari but they did no injury at all to any one

When Daud saw the Imperial forces swarming in the plain, and when he was informed of the fall of Hajipur, although he had 20 000 horse, abundance of artillery, and many elephants he determined to fly and at midnight of Sunday the 21st Rabi u s sani, he embarked in a boat and made his escape Sridhar the Bengali, who

[84] *Faizi Sirhindi follows this account, but Abu l Fazl's version is somewhat different*

was Daud's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Raja Bikramajit, placed his valuables and treasures in a boat and followed him.

Gujar Khan Kirani, who was Daud's minister[85] brought the elephants out, and fled by the rear of the city. On that dreadful night, a foretaste of the day of judgment, the inhabitants were in a state of bewilderment and despair. Some endeavoured to escape by the river, but through the crowding and struggling many of them were drowned. Others endeavoured to fly by land, but were crushed under the feet of elephants and horses in the narrow lanes and streets. Some in their despair cast themselves down from the walls and others perished in the moat. When Gujar Khan came to the Punpun[86] river, he passed his elephants over the bridge; but the fugitives in his rear so pressed and crowded upon the bridge that it broke down and numbers were precipitated into the water. Those who came up afterwards threw away their arms and clothes and cast themselves naked into the river.

Late at night, when the flight of Daud was reported the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and as soon as it was light Khan-khanan having assured himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and paraded before His Majesty. The date of the fall of Patna, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is found in this line *"Mulk-i Sulaiman zi Daud raft."* (983).

The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made proclamation of amnesty to the inhabitants, he left Khan-khanan in command of the army, while he himself dashed off with a

[85]*His title was "Ruknu-d daula."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 181.*

[86]*A river which runs from the south, and falls into the Ganges near Patna.*

detachment in pursuit of Gujar Khan and the elephants When he reached the Punpun, he swam over on horseback, and the *amirs* and soldiers followed his example Then he gave orders for every officer and man to press on with all his might in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward The *amirs*, driving Gujar Khan before them, secured Daud's elephants, and brought them to His Majesty On reaching the *pargana* of Daryapur[87] twenty six *kos*[88] from Patna on the banks of the Ganges, they drew rein and it was found that nearly 400 elephants[89] had been taken His Majesty halted at Daryapur, but ordered Shahbaz Khan *Mir bakhshi* and Majnun Khan Kakshal to continue the pursuit They went on to the river Balbhund, seven *kos* from Daryapur There they learned that Gujar worn out and half dead, had passed over the river and that some of his men had been lost in the water Shahbaz Khan and Majnun Khan then returned

On Monday, the 21st, Khan Khanan, according to orders, came by water to wait upon His Majesty, bringing with him the royal boats and attendant establishments The Emperor stayed at Daryapur six days He appointed Khan Khanan to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20 000 horse He increased his military allowances twenty five or thirty per cent, he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Agra, and invested him with full power and authority Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khan Khanan and the other *amirs* Next day he marched to the town of Ghiyaspur on the bank of the Ganges There he rested four days, employed in the pleasing occupation of viewing the ele

[87] *On the right bank of the Ganges, sixty miles east from Patna*

[88] *Abu l Fazl makes it thirty kos—Akbar nama, vol. iii, p 78*

[89] *Two hundred and sixty five—Ib*

led his forces, and advanced in great force against T... When Daud's spies carried him the intelligence of the Khan-khanan's advance, he and his associates ... of the black night of Patna, and fled in dismay, ab... doning the town. Thus on the 4th Jumada-s sani, ... capital of Tanda was won for the Emperor with... fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issu... to the people.

Again the Emperor was delighted with this ... news. He determined to go on to Dehli and he ... there on the 1st Rajab. He made a pilgrimage to ... tombs of the saints and holy men; he also visited ... tomb of his father, and he dispensed his bounty am... the needy, and offered up prayers suitable to his posi... tion. To give his escort rest he remained at Dehli s... days, and employed himself in hunting. In the begin... ning of Sha'ban he started for Ajmir, and hunted as ... went. At the town of Narnaul he was waited upon by Khan-jahan, who came from Lahore to see him. The Emperor was much pleased to see the Khan, and gave him some princely marks of his approval. A few days afterwards 'Azam Khan also came from Ahmadabad expressly to offer his congratulations. In the beginning of Ramazan, the Emperor reached Ajmir, and hastened immediately to pay his visit to the tomb. Out of the spoils of Bengal he presented to *nakara-khana* of the Khwaja a pair of drums which had belonged to Daud. He also dispensed the usual gifts.

It now came to his knowledge that Chandar Sen, son of Mal Deo, was oppressing the *raiyats* in the neighbourhood of the forts of Joudhpur and Siwanah, and was creating disturbances.[94] His Majesty sent Tayib Khan, son of Tahir Khan *Mir-i faraghat* the governor of Dehli, and Subhan Kuli Turk, with a suitable force,

[94]*This intelligence was brought from Siwanah by Raja Rai Singh.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 87. Siwanah is about sixty miles S. W. of Joudhpur.*

to chastise him When they approached, the rebel withdrew with his followers,[95] into dense jungles and places hard of access But some of the fugitives were caught and put to the sword, and the royal troops returned with considerable spoil In the middle of Ramazan the Emperor started on his return to the capital, and on the same day Khan i 'azam departed for Gujarat The Emperor arrived at Fathpur on the last day of Ramazan

It had become manifest that much of the cultivable land of Hindustan was lying uncultivated, and to encourage cultivation, some rule for dividing the profits of the first year between the Government and the cultivator seemed to be required After careful consideration, it was arranged that the various *parganas* should be examined, and that those which contained so much land as being cultivated would yield a *kror* of tankas, should be divided off and given into the charge of an honest and intelligent officer, who was to receive the name of *krori* The clerks and accountants of the Exchequer were to make arrangements with these officers, and send them to their respective districts, where by vigilance and attention, in the course of three years the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the revenues recovered for Government To carry out these views, a number of the most honest and trustworthy servants of the State were selected, such as . . and appointed to the office of *krori* The *amirs* also were called upon severally to appoint *kroris*, who were sent into the country upon their responsibility

At this time Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, Jalal Khan Korchi, and some other *amirs*, were sent to effect the reduction of the fort of Siwanah, belonging to the son of Rai Mal Deo The fort was besieged for a long time and Jalal Khan Korchi, one of the officers of the Court, was killed there After that Shahbaz Khan Kambu was

[95] *"by way of Rampur"—Ak nama Rampur in Tonk, seventy miles S from Jaipur*

fore he could arrive, Junaid had fled into the jungles. Todar Mal therefore stopped at Midnapur. Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas died here after a few days' illness. He was an able man, and his loss was a great cause of weakness in the Imperial forces.

In concurrence with the remaining *amirs*, Raja Todar Mal returned from Midnapur to Madaran. Here Kiya Khan Gang, being offended with the other *amirs*[100] without reason, went off into the jungle. Todar Mal reported the fact to Khan-khanan and remained for some days in Madaran. Hereupon Khan-khanan sent Shaham Khan Jalair and . . . . to support Raja Todar Mal. When they joined the Raja at Bardwan, the Raja left them, and went out into the jungle after Kiya Khan, and having pacified him, brought him back with him. From Madran they marched to Jitura. There they were informed that Daud, with his forces, had gone into the fort of Katak Banaras,[101] and was engaged in preparations for war.

Raja Todar Mal halted, and sent swift messengers to inform Khan-khanan of the position of affairs. Khan-khanan then left Tanda to march against Daud, and he formed a junction with Raja Todar Mal. Daud had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afghans entrenched their camp.

On the 20th Zi-l ka'da 982[102] the armies met.[103]

[100]*With Khan-khanan in particular.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 98.*

[101]*Attock and Cuttack, at the two extremities of the Empire, both have the world Banaras (Benares) added to their names in the Tabakat.*

[102]*This date shows that Abu-l Fazl is right in placing the battle in the nineteenth year of the reign. Several lines are occupied with the names of the amirs in command of the various divisions of the two armies.*

[103]*"at Bajhora."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 194. The MSS. of the Akbar-nama, have "Takaroi." The name is*

After the array was formed, the Afghans advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khan khanan ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (*zarb zan*) and light guns (*zambural*), which were mounted on *arabas* in front of his line The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack, and the musketry mowed, down the Afghans who were in the advance Gujar Khan, with his division in excellent order, now came up boldly, and drove back Khan khanan's advanced force upon the *Altamsh*[101] Khan i alam, who commanded the advance, held his ground, and was killed The *Altamsh* division was next defeated and driven back upon the centre, which in its turn was in great difficulty Khan khanan did all in his power, but could not restrain his men At this time, Gujar Khan attacked and wounded Khan khanan, and as the latter had no sword, he returned Gujar Khan's cuts with slashes of his whip In this conjuncture Khan khanan s horse took fright and although his rider was anxious to stop him and rally the fugitives, he could not restrain him The Afghans pursued Khan khanan for half a *kos*, when Kiya Khan Gang attacked the Afghans and showered arrows upon them The Afghans

not given in the MSS of the Tabakat, nor in the Akbar nama, of Faizi Sirhindi Blochmann finds the locality of the battle in the Trigonometrical Map of Orissa, in two places called Mughulmari (Mughal's fight), and Tool aroe, a village about seven miles southwards, half way between Mughalmari and Jalesar (Jellasore), and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river lat 21° 53' The battle extended over a large space. Badauni (vol ii, p 195) speaks of three or four kos, i e, about six miles —See Ain i Akbari, vol. i, p 375

[101]*Altamsh is a Turki word meaning "sixty," and it is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general —See supra*

were exhausted by their long ride, and could not move. Then Khan-khanan got his horse under control, and rallying his men, led them back to the field. They discharged showers of arrows, and by the guidance of fate, an arrow struck Gujar Khan, and brought him down. When the Afghans saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled; but many of them were cut down in their flight. Raja Todar Mal, Lashkar Khan, and others who were upon the right, now charged the left of the enemy. Shaham Khan and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Daud. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of his army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them. The banner of Khan-khanan now became visible, and the death of Gujar Khan came to the knowledge of Daud. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khan-khanan encamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, to have his wounds tended, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword. Lashkar Khan *Mir-bakhshi*, who had rendered such good service, died of his wounds before the army moved.

CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH DAUD: HIS INTERVIEW WITH KHAN-KHANAN

After his defeat, Daud fled to Katak Banaras (Cuttack) in the centre of Orissa, and Khan-khanan, who remained stationary on account of his wounds, held a council, in which he and his *amirs* determined to pursue Daud.[105] Raja Todar Mal and . . . . were directed to proceed after him, and it was agreed that Khan-khanan himself would follow as soon as his wounds permitted.

[105] *"A large number of Afghan prisoners were put to death by order of Khan-khanan."—T. Alfi*

The Raja and his *amirs* accordingly started, and did not halt until they reached Kalkal-ghati.[106] After resting there a while, the scouts brought in the intelligence that Daud and the Afghans, with their wives and children, were shut up in the fort of Katak Banaras. Reduced to extremities, and having no other refuge, the men were resolved upon fighting, and fugitives from the field of battle daily gathered round them. Raja Todar Mal sent a report of the state of affairs to Khan-khanan,[107] and the Khan set out for Katak Banaras, never resting till he came within two *kos* of that place. Then he held a council with his *amirs*, and having pitched his camp on the banks of the Mahanadi, which is half a *kos* from Katak, he began to collect materials for a siege.

Daud had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gujar Khan, his mainstay and support, was slain. Death stared him in the face; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khan-khanan with a message to this effect: "The striving to crush a party of Musulmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject; but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal sufficient for my support may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel".—The *amirs* communicated this to Khan-Khanan, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal,[108] upon the condition that Daud

[106]*Abu-l Fazl calls the place "Bhadrak." The "Bhudruck" of Thornton, north of Cuttack. Badauni and Faizi Sirhindi follow the Tabakat, and have "Kal-kal-ghati."*

[107]*According to Abu-l Fazl, the Raja's men were despondent, and he was obliged to call for support.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 107.*

[108]*"Raja Todar Mal, who well understood the true position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet (to prevent the armistice), met with no*

himself should come out to meet Khan-khanan, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths.[109]

Next day[110] Khan-khanan ordered a grand Court to be held, and all the nobles and attendants to be present in their places in fine array, and the troops drawn up in arms in front of the tents. Daud came out of the fort, attended by his Afghan nobles and officers, and proceeded to the tent of Khan-khanan. When he approached it, Khan-khanan, with great courtesy and respect, rose up and walked half-way down the tent to meet him. When they met, Daud loosened his sword from the belt and holding it before him, said, "I am tired of war since it inflicts wounds on worthy men like you." Khan-khanan took the sword, and handed it to one of his attendants. Then gently taking Daud by the hand, he seated him by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. Food and drink and sweetmeats were served, of which the Khan pressed him to partake.

After the dishes were removed, the terms of peace came under discussion. Daud protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne, and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up, and then Khan-khanan brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Daud, said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I

support." He refused to take any part in the settlement.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 108.

[109]*The terms were that Daud was to do homage of service, to surrender his best elephants, and pay up his tribute. Eventually he was to go to Court and do homage in person, but for the present some relations were to be sent as hostages. His nephew Shaikh Muhammad was the hostage.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 108.*

[110] *1st Muharram, 983 (12th April, 1575).—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 108.*

have therefore requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you as my *tankhwah* has been granted to me. I now gird you afresh with this war-like sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Khan-khanan started on his return.

On the 10th Safar, 983, he reached Tanda the capital, and sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khan-khanan, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

While Khan-khanan was occupied at Katak Banaras, the sons of Jalalu-d din Sur, in concert with the *zamindars* of Ghoraghat, attacked and defeated Majnun Khan, drove him to the neighbourhood of Tanda, and captured the fort of Gaur. Mu'in Khan and Majnun Khan provided for the security of Tanda, and awaited intelligence of Khan-khanan's success. When his return became known, the insurgents scattered and hid themselves in the jungles.[111]

BUILDING OF AN 'IBADAT-KHANA

The Emperor had from his early youth taken delight in the society of learned and accomplished men, and had found pleasure in the assemblies of men of imagination and genius. He always treated them with the greatest respect and honour, and frequently graced their heavenly meetings. He listened to their discussions of nice points of science, of the ancient and modern history of

[111] *Abu-l Fazl says that Mu'nim Khan went to Ghora-ghat, and suppressed the insurrection.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 140.*

religions and people and sects, and of all matters of wordly interest; and he profited by what he heard. His great favour for such men, led him at the time of his return from Ajmir in the month of Zi-l ka'da, 982, and in the twentieth year of his reign, to issue his commands for skilful architects and clever builders to erect in the gardens of the royal palace a refuge for *sufis,* and a home for holy men, into which none should be allowed to enter but *saiyids* of high rank, learned men (*'ulama*) and *Shaikhs.* In obedience to the Imperial commands, skilful architects planned a building, containing four halls (*aiwan*), and in a brief period completed it. When this happy abode was finished, the Emperor used to go there on Friday nights and on holy nights, and pass the night until the rising of the sun in the society of distinguished men. It was arranged that the western hall should be occupied by *saiyids,* the south by the learned (*'ulama*) and the wise, the northern by *shaikhs* and men of ecstasy (*arbab-i hal*); all without confusion or intermixture. The nobles and officers of the Court, whose tastes were in unison with those of men of greatness and excellence, were to sit in the eastern hall. His Majesty graced each of the four halls with his presence, and enriched those present with his gifts and bounty. The members of the assembly used to select a number of the most worthy among those present to be presented to His Majesty, and to receive from him handfuls of *ashrafis* and rupees. Those, who from evil fortune did not participate in the royal bounty in the evening, used to sit down in rows before the *'ibadat-khana* on Friday mornings, and receive handfuls of *ashrafis* and rupees from His Majesty's own hands. This assemblage used frequently to last beyond mid-day on Fridays. Sometimes, when His Majesty was tired, one of the attendants of the Court, in whose kindness and gentleness he had confidence, was deputed to perform this duty. . . . .

. . In this year Gulbadan Begam, daughter of the Emperor Babar, and aunt of Akbar, piously undertook the

journey to Mecca When Gujarat was annexed to the Imperial dominions, he determined that every year one of the officers of his Court should be appointed Mir Haji, or Leader of the Pilgrims, to conduct a caravan from Hindustan, like the caravans from Egypt and Syria, to the holy places This design was carried out, and every year a party of enlightened men of Hind, of Mawarau n nahr, and Khurasan, received provision for their journey from the royal treasury, and went under the appointed leader from the ports of Gujarat to the holy places[112] Never before had any monarch provid ed for the annual departure of a caravan from India, nor had any one furnished means to the needy, to enable them to perform the pilgrimage Gulbadan and Salima Sultan Begam[113] now obtained the Emperor's permis sion to go the pilgrimage, and received from him a sum of money for the expenses of the journey All the pious poor who desired to join in the pilgrimage obtained the means of travelling

ARRIVAL OF MIRZA SULAIMAN

Mirza Sulaiman had been ruler of Badakhshan since the time of the Emperor Babar He had a son, Mirza Ibrahim, a fine intelligent young man, who was taken prisoner in battle and killed by the adherents of Pir Muhammad Khan Uzbek, in the year that Mirza Sulaiman invaded Balkh Mirza Ibrahim left a son, Shah Rukh by name whom Sulaiman carefully brought up and to whom, in spite of his tender age, he gave several districts of Badakhshan

When Shah Rukh arrived at years of discretion and Mirza Sulaiman grew old, some designing people incit

[112] "*After five or six years, this arrangement was set aside*" —*Badauni, vol ii, p 213*

[113] "*Daughter of Nuru d din Muhammad Mirza, who was married to Bairam Khan*" (*see supra*)—*Badauni vol ii, p 213*

ed the youth with stories of his rights. But the Mirza's wife was a clever woman; she kept a sharp watch over Shah Rukh, and prevented any outbreak. But when she died, these same people stirred up Shah Rukh's ambition to be ruler of Badakhshan. He came from Kunduz to Kolab, and being supported by his party, the whole of Badakhshan, from Hisar Shadman to Kabul, fell into his hands, and he wanted to send his grandfather to join his father.

Mirza Sulaiman fled in great distress to seek assistance from Muhammad Hakim Mirza. But he did not meet with the reception he expected, so he begged to be sent on to the Indus. Hakim Mirza did not comply with this trifling request. He sent him a party of pretended guides, who left him at the first stage and fled to Kabul. But Mirza Sulaiman, trusting in God, continued his journey,[114] and although he was sometimes opposed by the Afghans, and had to fight his way, and was wounded by an arrow, he at length reached the Indus. Thence he wrote to the Emperor, who sent him 50,000 rupees, horses, and necessaries, by the hand of Khwaja Aka Khan, ... and after some days Raja Bhagwan Das [115] came to the Indus with an escort, and conducted him honourably to Lahore.

At this time a *farman* was sent to summon 'Azam Khan from Gujarat, and he arrived at Court[116] with speed and alacrity. Some cavillers and fault-finders made insinuations about his management of affairs,[117]

[114] *He had his daughter with him.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 214.*

[115] *Then ruler of Lahore.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 214.*

[116] *On the 4th Rajab, 983 H.*

[117] *Abu-l Fazl (Akbar-nama, vol. iii. p. 126) says the charge was about the branding of the horses; but Badauni (vol. ii., p. 214) states that there were complaints also against his revenue, military and general administration. They agree that he was sent into retirement.*

and the Khan, in defending himself, passed the bounds of prudence and respect, and made use of unseemly words, which brought upon him the displeasure of the Emperor. Thereupon the Khan, forgetful of his duty, retired to his garden at Agra, shut himself up alone, and refused admission to everybody.

Mirza Sulaiman, after staying a few days at Lahore, started for Fathpur. On reaching Mathura, twenty *kos* from Fathpur the Emperor sent . . . several nobles to meet him, and to arrange for his meeting the Emperor on the 15th Rajab, 983. All the nobles and officers were sent out to the distance of five *kos* from Fathpur to receive him. And when intelligence of his having left this stage was brought, the Emperor himself went out on horseback to meet him. Five thousand elephants, with housings of velvet and brocade, with gold and silver chains, and with white and black fringes on their necks and trunks, were drawn up in lines on each side of the road to the distance of five *kos* from Fathpur. Between each two elephants there was a cart (*araba*), the *chitas* in which had collars studded with gold and housings of fine cloth; also two bullock carts, which had animals that wore gold-embroidered headstalls.

When all the arrangements were made, the Emperor went out with great pomp and splendour. Upon approaching, the Mirza hastened to dismount, and ran forward to His Majesty; but the Emperor observing the venerable age of the Mirza, also alighted from his horse, and would not allow the Mirza to go through the usual observances and ceremonies. He fondly embraced him; then he mounted and made the Mirza ride on his right hand. All the five *kos* he inquired about his circumstances, and on reaching the palace he seated him by his side on the throne. The young princes also were present, and were introduced to the Mirza, and after a great entertainment, he gave the Mirza a house near to the royal palace. On this occasion an order was issued to Khan-jahan, the ruler of the Panjab, to take

5000 horse and proceed to Badakhshan in attendance on the Mirza, to recover the country and restore it to him, and then to return to Lahore.

DEATH OF KHAN-KHANAN MU'NIM KHAN

When Khan-khanan, with his mind at ease about Daud, returned to Tanda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his evil destiny, he took a dislike to Tanda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal,[118] and he ordered that all the soldiers and *raiyats* should remove from Tanda to Gaur. In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tanda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave,[119] and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached to such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river.[120] Every day the deaths of many *amirs* and officers were reported to Khan-khanan, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedless-

[118] *He was influenced by two reasons. It was on the side of the river nearest to Ghora-ghat, the seat of the rebellion, and it contained many handsome and convenient buildings.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 140. Faizi Sirhindi.*

[119] *Az gaur ba gor; the two words being written exactly alike. A neat though misplaced pun.*

[120] *"Out of the many thousand men that were sent to that country, not more than a hundred were known to have returned in safety."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 217.*

ness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days, in the month of Safar,* 983, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Shaham Khan Jalair in command,[121] and made a report of the facts to the Emperor. Khan-khanan had no son, so all his property escheated to the royal exchequer, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khan-jahan, who had been supreme governor of the Panjab, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *Amiru-l umara* commended the *raiyats* and people to his tender care, bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly-caparisoned horse, and dismissed him to his government. Khan-jahan, furnished with full credentials, then departed to assume his authority.

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 9th Zi-l hijja 983 H (11th March, 1576 A.D.).

MIRZA SULAIMAN'S JOURNEY TO MECCA

. . . The Emperor had determined that Khan-jahan should march with the army of the Panjab to recover the country of Badakhshan, but fate ruled otherwise. Khan-khanan, the ruler of Bengal, was removed by death, and the Emperor deeming the retention and administration of that country more important than the conquest of Badakhshan, sent Khan-jahan thither. When Mirza Sulaiman saw this change of fortune, he sought leave of the Emperor, through the officers of state, to go

**The Akbar-nama says Rajab, which might be true.*

[121] *Upon this appointment, Badauni, in his caustic way, quotes the proverb.—"In the treeless land the shrub Palma Christi is a tree."*

on the pilgrimage. The Emperor complied with his request, and furnished him with 50,000 rupees in cash, besides other things required for the journey. He sent with him, to attend upon him in his journey to the coast, Muhammad Kalij Khan, one of the chief nobles, who had been appointed governor of Surat. When the Mirza went on board ship, twenty thousand rupees more were given to him out of the revenues of Gujarat. The Mirza performed the pilgrimage in the same year, and afterwards returned and recovered his kingdom of Badakhshan.

On the 7th Zi-l ka'da, 984, the Emperor set off on a visit to Ajmir. He hunted as he went, and on the 4th Zi-l hijja he encomped at ten *kos* from Ajmir. He afterwards, as usual, walked five *kos* on foot to the tomb of the saint, and after going through all the observances of the pilgrimage, he gave away two thousand rupees in charity.

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with the 20th Zi-l hijja, 984 H. (11th March, 1577 A.D.).

While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmir, the
ntelligence was brought to him that Daud Afghan had
ung away the treaty which he had made with Khan-
anan, had risen against the royal authority, and had
rched against Tanda. The Imperial officers in that
arter, having no chief among them on whom they
ld rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to
ipur and Patna. All this commotion had arisen
use Khan-jahan had taken his time in going there in
equence of his army being at Lahore. Upon
ving this intelligence, the Emperor sent a letter by
an Kuli Turk to Khan-jahan, directing him to take
him all the *amirs* and *jagirdars* who had abandoned
l, and to march against Daud. In twenty-two days
n Kuli travelled nearly a thousand *kos*,[122] (!) and

Badauni (vol. ii., p. 227 confirms this.

delivered the *farman* to Khan-jahan. The Khan took the field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with three thousand men whom Daud had left in charge of Garhi, and took the place. Nearly fifteen hundred of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.

Whilst the Emperor was staying at Ajmir, he sent Kunwar Man Singh, a brave and able man, with five thousand horse, against Rana Kika.[123] He also sent Kazi Khan Badakhshi, ... and other ambitious young men with him. Asaf Khan was appointed *Mir-bakhshi* of this army. His Majesty presented Kunwar Man Singh and all the *amirs* and *sardars* of the army with robes and horses. After fitting out this army, he started to return home on the 20th Muharram, and reached Fathpur on the 1st Safar, 985 H.

After his arrival at Fathpur, messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khan-jahan, after the capture of Garhi, had advanced to the vicinity of Tanda. There he found that Daud had evacuated Tanda, and had taken up a position in the village of Ak.[124] On one flank was the river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khan-jahan marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwaja 'Abdu-lla, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghan entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall, the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order to Muzaffar Khan, the governor of Patna and Bihar, to

[123] *"Against Kokanda and Kombalmir, the territory of Rana Kika."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 228. Kombalmir is in the Aravalli mountains, about forty miles north of Udipur.*

[124] *Or "Ak-mahal" or Aga-mahal, afterwards called "Raj-mahal" by Raja Màn Singh, when governor Bengal. The ancient name was Raja-griha.*

void of troops, he collected a party and attacked Farhat Khan and his son Mirak Rawi, who were at the station of Arah. In the fight which ensued Farhat Khan and his son were killed. Great disturbances followed, and the roads were closed.

When intelligence of this reached the Emperor at Fathpur, on the 25th Rabi'u-l akhir he set off. At five *kos* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Here he was waited upon by 'Abdu-lla Khan, whom he had sent as a messenger to Khan-jahan, and who now returned to cast the head of Daud at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Rejoiced at the victory, he returned to the capital.

Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khan thus rehearsed the story of the victory. Muzaffar Khan arrived with the forces of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna, acounting to nearly 5000 horse, and joined Khan-jahan. On the 15th Rabi'u-l akhir, 984, they drew out their forces and attacked the enemy. Daud also, supported by his uncle Junaid Kirani and other Afghan chiefs, made his dispositions. Junaid was struck by a cannon-ball. His leg was broken. After while the armies closed with each other, and the enemy was defeated. Daud being left behind, was made prisoner, and Khan-jahan had his head struck off, and sent to His Majesty. Great Spoil and many elephants fell into the hands of the victors. . . .

At this time, Sultan Khwaja was appointed Mir Haji, and a sum of six *lacs* of rupees in cash and goods was assigned for the benefit of the poor people about to make the pilgrimage to the holy places, and given into his charge. He was directed to furnish what was necessary to any one desirous of being a pilgrim, and many profited by this liberality.

(The annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din at Ajmir)

It has already been related how Raja Man Singh

defeated Rana Kika, and occupied his country—how the Rana fled into the high hills, and how the army penetrated to Kokanda, which was the Rana's home. The roads to this place were so difficult that little grain reached it, and the army was nearly famished. The order was given for Man Singh to fall back quickly, and he very soon arrived at the Emperor's throne. When the distress of the army was inquired into, it appeared that, although the men were in such great straits, Kunwar Man Singh would not suffer any plundering of Rana Kika's country. This caused the Emperor to be displeased with him, and he was banished from Court for a time.[131] After a while he was forgiven, and was sent at the head of a force to ravage the Rana's country. It must be understood that in the langauge of Hind "Kunwar" signifies "son of a Raja." On the 19th of the month the army marched from Ajmir towards the Rana's country.

KHWAJA SHAH MANSUR MADE DIWAN

SHAH MANSUR, a Shirazi clerk, at the beginning of his career was employed in the royal perfumery department. But Muzaffar Khan was then in power, and he caused him to be first imprisoned and afterwards banished from Court. He then entered the service of Khan-khanan Mu'nim Khan at Jaunpur, and rose to be his *diwan*. The conversation of the Khan made his abilities known to the Emperor, and after Khan-khanan's death, Mansur was summoned to Court, and appointed to the office of *diwan* in chief.[132]

Sultan Khwaja had been appointed Mir Haji, or Leader of the Pilgrims, and as the road to Gujarat *via*

[131]*Badauni (vol. ii., p. 240) tells us that Asaf Khan fell into disgrace along with the Kunwar; but that the others, including Badauni himself, received rewards and promotion.*

[132] *Abridged translation.*

Kokanda was nearest, Kutbu-d 'din Khan . . and the other *amirs* were ordered to escort the caravan through Kokanda. They were directed to plunder and lay waste the country of Rana Kika, and to follow him up, and harry him wherever they might hear of him. When Sultan Khwaja was about to depart on the pilgrimage, the Emperor, acting after the manner of pilgrims, stripped himself, put on the *ihram* or pilgrim's garment, and went some steps after the Khwaja.[133] A cry arose from those present, and their voices were raised in benediction and praise.

When His Majesty reached the *pargana* of Mohi,[134] news came in from the front that Kutbu-d din Khan and the other *amirs,* on arriving at Kokanda, found that the Rana had fled into the hills. Orders were then given for Kutbu-d din and Raja Bhagwan Das to remain at Kokanda, and for Kalij Khan and the other *amirs* to accompany the caravan of pilgrims as far as Idar. The *amirs* were to stop at Idar, and lay siege to it; but they were to send on an escort with the cravan as far as Ahmadabad, forty-eight *kos* from Idar. When Kalij Khan arrived there, he found that the Raja[135] had fled into the hills, but that a party of Rajputs remained in the temple resolved upon death. They were all killed in a short time. Next day Kalij Khan sent on Timur Badakhshi with the caravan to Ahmadabad. Here Shahabu-d din Ahmad . . . . and other *jagirdars* of Malwa came in to pay their respects.

GRANTS OF MANSABS TO VARIOUS CHIEFS

When the Emperor reached Udipur, a despatch arrived

[133]*According to the Akbar-nama (vol. iii., p. 165) the Emperor had a strong desire to go on the pilgrimage but was dissuaded by his friends and counsellors.*

[134] *"Mohani."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 241.*

[135]*"Narain Das" by name—Baudauni, vol. ii., p. 241.*

from Sultan Khwaja, the Mir Haji, from the port of Surat, reporting that, owing to no pass (*kaul*) having been obtained from the Europeans, the ship was useless. The Emperor directed a messenger to be sent to Kalij Khan to bring him quickly to Surat, in order to secure the departure of the vessel. During Kalij Khan's absence, Asaf Khan was to have the command of his army.

Kutbu-d din Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das returned from Kokanda, and waited upon the Emperor. Shah Fakhru-d din and Jagannath were left in Udipur, and Raja Bhagwan Das and Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khan were left in Dhauli-ghati of Udipur. When His Majesty came into the territory of Banswala (Banswara) and Dungarpur, the Rajas and *zamindars* of the country came to wait upon him with their offerings and were right royally received.[136] Here also Raja Todar Mal came from Bengal to wait upon him, bringing nearly 500 elephants from the spoils of Bengal, with other presents and offerings. Kalij Khan also arrived to attend upon him, and was sent to Surat to despatch the ships. He went along with Kalyan Rai, a merchant (*bakkal*); and having got passes (*kaul*) from the Europeans, he sent off the ships. He quickly returned, and waited upon His Majesty, while he was in Malwa. After arranging his posts (*thana-jat*) to his satisfaction, and securing the loyalty of the *zamindars*, he entered Malwa.

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986 H.[137] (11th March, 1578).

[136] *Abu-l Fazl specifies "Rawal Partab, chief of Banswara, and Rawal Askaran, chief (marzban) of Dungarpur"—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 169.*

[137] *The MS. has 985, but this is a manifest error. The Akbar-nama (vol. iii., p. 203) is correct. The twenty-second year began (supra) on the 20th Zi-l hijja,*

The festivals of the Nau-roz and of the Empero accession were celebrated in the *pargana* of Dipalpur, dependency of Malwa. The Emperor devoted his atte tion to measures for increasing the prosperity of th country, and the *raiyats* waited upon him in parties, an made statements of their circumstances. He paid the kindest attention to every one's case, and made a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of the province. Many *zamindars* became submissive and obedient to his will.

Raja Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur, had not been duly subordinate, and it being deemed necessary to chastise him, several *amirs*, such as Shahabu-d din Ahmad and . ., with other *jagirdars* of Malwa, were sent against him. Shahabu-d din was appointed commander. Shahbaz Khan, the *Mir-bakhshi*, was to check the brands (of the horses) and the muster of the army. The other *amirs* were to exercise their diligence, and secure the speedy departure of the force.

At this same place Raja Todar Mal was commissioned to settle the revenue and other affairs of the province of Gujarat. News also was brought from the force at Idar, that a battle had been fought with Raja Narain Das and a victory gained. The particulars of the occurrence were these: When Muhammad Kalij Khan, in obedience to orders, repaired to the Imperial camp along with 'Ali Murad Uzbek, the army was left under the command of Asaf Khan. Intelligence came in that the Raja of Idar, with a number of Rajputs who had been driven from their homes, together with some *zamindars* of the country, and supported by Raja Kika, had gather-

84, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole f Hijra 985, and ended on the 1st day of 986. The versight of this fact has given rise to some confusion the dates about this period, and the events here re-rded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of reign are placed by Abu-l Fazl in the twenty-second. Table, supra.

ed a force which was posted ten *kos* distance, and contemplated a night attack. When this intelligence was confirmed, Asaf Khan and . . . held a council. About 500 men were left to secure the camp, and the rest of the force was called out at midnight and marched towards the enemy. On the morning of the 4th Zi-l hijja, after marching seven *kos*, they encountered the foe, and a battle began. Mirza Muhammad Mukim, who led the advance, was killed; but the enemy was defeated. Raja Narain Das fled, and the chiefs of the royal army obtained the victory. Asaf Khan's despatch gave His Majesty much pleasure, and he ordered letters of thanks to be written to the *amirs* and officers of the army.

When His Majesty had arranged the affairs of Malwa, and settled the matters of the *amirs* of Asir and Burhanpur, he turned homewards; and, hunting as he went, he arrived at Fathpur on Sunday, 23rd Safar. After three months, troubles arose in Gujarat, through the coming thither of Muzaffar Husain Mirza, son of Ibrahim Mirza, who was son of the daughter of Kamran Mirza. The circumstances of his case are these: When the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat, Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Kamran and wife of Ibrahim, carried off her child Muzaffar Husain, as has been related in the account given of the conquest of Ahmadabad. A disaffected man named Mihr'Ali, a servant of the late Ibrahim Mirza, who accompanied Gulrukh Begam when she fled from Surat to the Dekhin, now stirred up the ambition of Muzaffar Husain, who was fifteen or sixteen years of age. He induced him to leave the Dekhin, and collecting a number of adventurers from all directions, he entered Gujarat intent upon insurrection.

At this time Raja Todar Mal was in Pattan, engaged in the settlement of the revenue. The insurrection spread, and the disaffected were everywhere raising their heads. Wazir Khan, the ruler of Gujarat, had 3,000 horsemen, but there were amongst them many adven-

turous men upon whom he could not rely, so he retired into a fortress, and sent an account of the occurrences to Raja Todar Mal. Before the Raja came to his assistance, Baz Bahadur, son of Sharif Khan, and Baba Gadai, the *diwan* of Gujarat, attacked Muzaffar Husain in the *pargana* of Nandurbar,[138] and were defeated. Muzaffar Husain then went to Kambay,[139] and after staying two or three days, he went off towards Ahmadabad. Raja Todar Mal turned back from Pattan, and arrived at Ahmadabad.

When the insurgents heard of this, they fell back, and went towards Dulaka. The Raja and Wazir Khan pursued them, and coming up with them at Dulaka, a battle ensued, in which the royal forces were victorious, and the enemy drew off to Junagarh. Raja Todar Mal then departed on his return to Court.

Muzaffar Husain, as soon as he heard of the Raja's departure, came back and besieged Wazir Khan in Ahmadabad; for although Wazir Khan's force was large, it was not trustworthy, and so he was obliged to seek the shelter of the fortress.[140] Mihr 'Ali, the *vakil* of Muzaffar Husain, and the great prop of the revolt, brought forward scaling-ladders to attempt an assault, but he was sent to hell[141] by a bullet from the fortress. When he was removed, Muzaffar Husain withdrew, and went towards Sultanpur. So the insurrection came to an end.

[138]*In Khandesh. This is written Nadarbar and Naryadaba in the MSS. Badauni has "Patlad."*

[139]*But failed to gain possession of the fort.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 181.*

[140]*The rebels had a number of partisans in the city also, who acted in concert with them.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 187.*

[141]*This charitable expression, though commonly used for the deaths of infidels, is not reserved exclusively for them.*

ARRIVAL OF THE AMIRS WITH AN IMPERIAL ARMY AT ASIR AND BURHANPUR

It has been mentioned above, that Shahab Khan and other *amirs* were sent with 10,000 horse against Asir and Burhanpur. When Raja 'Ali Khan heard of the approach of this force, he drew in his horns and crept into his fortress. The *amirs* entered the country, and did not stop till they reached Bijanagar.[142] Great dissension arose in the country of Asir, and Raja'Ali Khan was reduced to beg pardon for his offences. He promised the *amirs* to send suitable tribute and some elephants in charge of his people to the Emperor's Court. At this time, Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan separated from the other *amirs*, and went off to Nandurbar and Sultanpur, in consequence of disturbances which had arisen in his *jagirs* of Broach and Baroda, through the proceedings of Muzaffar Husain. The disorders in Asir and Burhanpur which the *amirs* had been sent to settle being ended, by the submission of Raja 'Ali and his payment of tribute, the *amirs* retired to their respective *jagirs*. When Hakim 'Ainu-l Mulk, who had gone on an embassy to 'Adil the ruler of the Dekhin, returned, he was sent with the elephants and the tribute to the Imperial Court.

(*The Annual Pilgrimage to Ajmir*)

The Emperor, on his return journey, when he reached the neighbourhood of Ambir,[143] ordered a fort and town to be founded in the village of Mulathan,[144] one of the dependencies of Ambir, on the site of an old city which had been in ruins for some thousand years. Walls and forts, and gates and gardens were allotted out among the *amirs*, and injunctions were given for the completion of

[142] *"Bijagarh", about seventy-miles N. W. of Burhanpur?*

[143] *Four miles N. E. of Jaipur.*

[144] *Or as Badauni (Vol. ii., p. 251) writes the name "Multan".*

the work. So a building (*'imarat*), which might have taken years for its completion, was finished in twenty days. Orders were then given for *raiyats* and all sorts of mechanics to be collected from all the *parganas* of that province, to populate the fortress (*hisar*). The land of this place was an ancient possession of Rai Lon Karan,[145] and his son, who was young and was being brought up with the princes, was named Manohar, so the town was called Manohar-nagar after that child. This child has now grown up a clever young man, and composes poetry under the *takhallus* (*nom de plume*) of Tausani.

APPEARANCE OF A COMET[146]

At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards the east, inclining to the north, and continued very awful for two hours. The opinion of the astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindustan, but probably in Khurasan and 'Irak. Shortly afterwards, Shah Ismail, son of Shah Tahmasp Safawi, departed this life, and great trouble arose in Persia.

On arriving at Narnaul, the Emperor paid a visit to Shaikh Nizam Narnauli. . . . From thence he proceeded to Dehli, and encamped near the *Hauz-i Khas*, and paid a visit to the tomb of his father with due ceremony. Then he visited the tombs of the holy men who sleep at Dehli and dispensed large charities. He next halted at the *sarai* of Bawali, and here he was waited upon by Haji Habibu-lla, who had visited Europe, and had brought with him fine goods and fabrics for His Majesty's inspection. He started from thence, and passed through the *pargana* of Palam. He passed the night in the house of the *mukaddam* of the village, and in the morning he directed that the revenue officers, whenever

145 *"Ruler of Sambhar".—Badauni.*

146 *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 240) places the appearance*

he so rested in the house of a cultivator, should remit the tax and tribute (*baj o khiraj*) of his cultivated land by way of *madad-m'ash*,[147] or help for subsistence.[148] . . . When he arrived at the *pargana* of Hansi, he went to pay a visit in the town to Shaikh Jamal Hansawi, and made his offerings and alms. Here a despatch arrived announcing that Muzaffar Husain Mirza, after flying from Gujarat, had been taken prisoner by Raja'Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur. On the 1st Zi-l ka'da the camp moved for the Panjab, and a *farman* was sent to Raja'Ali Khan, directing him to send Muzaffar Husain Mirza with his (the Raja's) son to Court. (The *maulud-nama* or horoscope of His Majesty.)

TWENTY FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 13th Muharram, 987 H.[149] (12th March, 1579) . . . . (*Hunting* etc.)

The Emperor marched to the town of Bahira, and here intelligence was brought of the approach of Her Highness Maryam Makani from the capital, and Prince

of this comet in the twenty second year of the reign. He also records a joke of the time. Shah Mansur, the diwan, used to wear a turban with the end hanging down his back; so he got the name of "The Comet", or "Long-tailed Star." Abu-l Fazl likewise places this comet in the twenty second year of the reign, or 1577 A.D., and according to Fergusson, the comet passed its perihelion on the 26th October, 1577 (Fergusson's Astronomy, vol. ii., p. 231) Abu-l Fazl enters into a learned discussion upon comets in general.—Akbarnama, vol. iii., p. 192.

[147]*This is the title of a very common la-khiraj tenure.*

[148]*This passage, and a few more lines of no importance, are found in only one copy.*

[149]*The text has "986" but see note, supra.*

him with presents—fabrics and stuffs of Turkey and Europe, Arab horses, Abyssinian slaves, holy relics a curiosities. These His Majesty accepted with mu satisfaction, and he raised Sultan Khwaja to the *mans* of Sadr (chief judge). As it had been determined t send a leader of the pilgrims every year, Khwaj Muhammad Yahya . . . . was now appointed, and he re-ceived four *lacs* of rupees for expenses.

At the end of this year 987, intelligence arrived of the death of Khan-jahan, the ruler of Bengal. His Majesty was much grieved, and sent a letter of condo-lence to Ismail Khan, the brother of the deceased. Muzaffar Khan, who had been appointed *diwan*, was promoted to the governor of Bengal; Rizwi Khan to be *bakhshi*, and Hakim Abu-l Fath, and Patar Das to dis-charge jointly the office of *diwan*.

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thurs-day, the 24th Muharram, 988 H.[151] (12th March, 1580).

The rulers of Kashmir had always been well-wishers and servants of the Imperial house. His Majesty now intended, after performing his usual pilgrimage to Ajmir, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Farid Shakar-ganj, and to visit the Panjab. So he sent Mulla Ishki, one of the old servants of the Court, along with Kazi Sadru-d din, to Kashmir. 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Kashmir, entertained them nobly and respectfully, and exhibited his fidelity and devotion. Along with he two envoys he sent his own *vakil*, Muhammad Kasim, to carry his tribute and productions of Kashmir s presents to the Emperor—saffron, musk, paper, hawls, etc. They accordingly brought them to His ajesty, and reported what they had seen and knew of li Khan's cordiality and good wishes.

Muzaffar Husain Mirza, whom Maksud Jauhari

[151] *The author has now got the date correct.*

had brought from Raja 'Ali Khan, was pardoned through His Majesty's clemency, and released from prison.

One day, when His Majesty was taking his dinner, it occurred to his mind that probably the eyes of some hungry one had fallen upon the food; how, therefore, could he eat it while the hungry were debarred from it? He therefore gave orders that every day some hungry persons should be fed with some of the food prepared for himself and that afterwards he should be served

Hakim 'Ali was now sent to Bijagarh along with the envoys of 'Adil Khan Dakhini. The rulers of the Dakhin, every one of them severally, had been accustomed to send their envoys every year with tribute and presents to the Imperial Court. When Khwaja 'Abdulla brought presents and elephants from 'Adil-Khan, the ambassador, and his son Shahi Beg were presented with robes, one hundred Akbarshahi *ashrafis,* one thousand five hundred and one rupees, and twenty four *tankas*

Mir Nizam, husband of the sister of Mirza Shah Rukh, the ruler of Badakhshan, came on a mission to the Imperial Court, bringing Turki horses bred in Badakhshan, fine rubies, several camels and other gifts

The Emperor used to keep every year the anniversary of the Prophet's birth This year he kept it on the 12th Rabi'u l awwal, and he gave a great entertainment, at which the *saiyids,* learned men, *shaikhs,* and *amirs* attended Open table was kept, and no one in the city was debarred from partaking of the refreshments On this occasion it was represented to him that the Prophet and the four lawful Khalifas[155] used themselves to preach The 'Abbaside Khalifas also observed this tradition, and themselves used to speak[156] Sultans such

[155] *Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman, and 'Ali*

[156] *"Khutba mi khwandand." This, however, is not the technical Khutba, but simply a speech*

as Sahib Kiran Amir Timur and Mirza Ulugh Beg used to follow the examples thus set them. His Majesty therefore felt it to be his duty to carry into practice on some Friday the custom observed by the Khalifas and Imams. On Friday, 1st Jumada-l awwal, he went into the *Masjid-i jama'* of Fathpur, and mounting the pulpit, he opened his speech with these lines:

The Lord who gave me empire,
Gave me a wise heart and a strong arm,
Guided me in the way of justice and equity,
And drove all but justice from my thoughts.
His praise surpasses understanding!
Great is His Power—Great is god![157]

To these eloquent lines briefly added some verses of the *Kuran*, expressing thanks for mercies and favours; then he repeated the *fatiha*, and came down from the pulpit and said his prayers.

Muzaffar Khan, since his appointment to the government of Bengal, had not sent a single article of the productions of the country, or any portion of its revenue, to the Imperial treasury; but he now sent five *lacs* of rupees in cash, various goods and articles of the country, and elephants and rarities of great value, which was graciously accepted. Muhammad Ma'sum Kabuli also sent thirty-nine elephants as tribute.

On a Friday in this month notice was given for all the poor and needy to assemble on the *chaugan* ground. Sultan Khwaja Kalij Khan distributed the alms to them one by one. Nearly a *lac* of persons assembled, and there was such a crowd and crush that eighty weak women and children were trampled to death. When the Emperor was informed of this, he ordered that for the

[157] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 268) says these verses were the production of Shaikh Faizi, and that the Emperor, "stammering, trembling, and in great confusion, got half through them with the help of others."*

future the people should come a few at a time, and not make a crowd.

Kutbu-d din Atka, a nobleman of high rank, was now appointed tutor to Prince Salim In celebration of this appointment he gave a grand feast, and the young prince honoured him with his presence There was a grand assemblage, and Kutbu d din made many offerings of elephants and Arab horses, jewels and cloths According to the usual custom, Kutbu d din Muhammad Akta carried the prince upon his back, and raised his aspiring head to the pinnacle of grandeur He made presents of money and jewels to the prince, and the clamour of congratulations reached the sky

'Abdu lla Khan Uzbek, ruler of Mawarau n nahr, had always kept up a friendly intercourse and community of feeling, and used to send his envoys to the Imperial Court His Majesty now sent Mirza Fulad with Khwaja Khatib, a native of Bukhara as his envoys to 'Abdu lla Khan, bearing a letter[158] full of kind words and a great variety of presents (*A legal discussion The usual journey to Ajmir*) On the 21st Shawwal he returned to Fathpur Mihtar Sa'adat whose title is Peshrau Khan, and who had been sent on an embassy to Nizamu l Mulk Dakhini now returned with the Dakhini envoys, who brought with them elephants and other tribute

TWENTY SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Corresponding to 988 H [159]

An Imperial order was made abolishing the *tamgha* (tolls) and the *zakat*[160] (customs) throughout the empire

[158] *See Inshae Abu l Fazl, Daftar IV.*

[159] *See Table published on a previous page*

[160] *Badauni (vol ii, p 276) substitutes "jizya" for "zakat" and says that the produce of these taxes amounted to several krors (or dams?) Abu l Fazl calls them "baj (misprinted taj) and tamgha" —Akbar nama, vol iii, p 258*

Farmans enforcing this abolition was issued. These taxes amounted to as much as the whole revenue of Iran, and it is clear that no king would have remitted them without divine guidance.[161] In this year Muhammad Ma'sum Khan, son of Mu'inu-d din Ahmad Khan Farankhudi, who held the government of Jaunpur, came to Court, and was allowed to return to that place. Mulla Muhammad Yazdi was appointed chief Kazi of Jaunpur. The government of Dehli was given to Muhibb 'Ali Khan, son of Mir Khalifa.

AFFAIRS OF BENGAL

Muzaffar Khan, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many *amirs* of their *jagirs*, he demanded the *dagh* (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

Baba Khan Kakshal, although he was conciliatory, and begged that his *jagir* might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the *dagh*, and received no attention. The *pargana* of Jalesar, which was the *jagir* of Khaldi Khan, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as *tankhwah* to the *jagir* of Shah Jamalu-d din Husain. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khaldi Khan, and to recover this Muzaffar Khan put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

At this time a *farman* arrived from the Imperial Court, directing Muzaffar Khan to apprehend and put to death a servant of Mirza Muhammad Hakim named Roshan Beg, who had left Kabul and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Court. This Roshan Beg was among the Kakshals, and Muzaffar Beg issued an order for his execution. He also spake some harsh words about Baba Khan Kakshal. The soldiers who were present,

161 "*taufik na-yafta*".

and especially Baba Khan and the Kakshals, trembled together, and resolved upon mutiny. They shaved their heads, put on their high caps,[162] and broke out into revolt. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhnauti. There they collected men, and having found property of Muzaffar Khan in several places, they took it or destroyed it. Muzaffar Khan collected boats, and sent Hakim Abu l Fath and Patar Das,[163] with an army against them on the banks of the river.

When the disaffection of the Kakshals was reported to the Emperor, he sent a *farman* to Muzaffar Khan, in which he said that the Kakshals had long been servants of the throne, and that it was not right to hurt them, they were therefore to be conciliated and encouraged with hopes of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *jagirs*, was to be settled. The *farman* arrived at the time when Muzaffar Khan was in face of the insurgents.

Upon the arrival of the *farman*, Baba Khan and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Muzaffar Khan, asking him to send Rizwi Khan and Patar Das to arrange terms with them, and to set their minds at ease. He accordingly sent Rizwi Khan, Mir Abu Ishak, son of Mir Rafi'u-d din and Rai Patar Das. Baba Khan put all three of them in confinement. and so stirred the fire of warfare.

Coincident with this, it so happened that Mulla Taiyib, Purkhottam *Bakhshi*, and the revenue officials of Bihar, also entered upon harsh dealings. They took away the *jagirs* of Muhammad Ma'sum Kabuli, 'Arab

[162]*takihae Mughuli, "Mughal caps."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 280.*

[163] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 281) observes that Abu-l Fath was fonder of feasts than of war, and Patar Das was a mere Hindu clerk, so that no vigorous action could be expected.*

Bahadur, and all the *amirs*, and so laid the foundation of an evil system. Masum Kabuli, who after this insurrection obtained the cognomen of 'Asi, having leagued with 'Arab Bahadur and Sufaid Badakhshi, resolved to rebel, and kill Mulla Taiyid and Rai Purkhottam. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Purkhottam rallied some loyal subjects and crossed the river Jausa with the intention of attacking the rebels. But the rebel 'Arab Bahadur anticipated him, took him unawares, and killed him.

Upon intelligence of 'Asi Ma'sum's rebellion reaching Baba Khan Kakshal, a correspondence was opened between them, and when the Kakshals confronted Muzaffar Khan, 'Asi marched to assist them, and arrived at Garhi. Muzaffar Khan then sent Khwaja Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khwafi with a detachment and some guns to the passes of Garhi, to arrest the progress of 'Asi Ma'sum. But the latter had a strong force: he broke through Garhi, and attacked the Khwaja and defeated him. He then formed a junction with the Kakshals, and the revolt gathered strength.

The Kakshals then crossed the river, and advanced against Muzaffar Khan. Wazir Jamil,[164] one of the old *amirs* of the State, along with Jan Muhammad Bihbudi, and some others, deserted Muzaffar Khan, and joined the insurgents. Muzaffar Khan then took shelter in the fort of Tanda, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tanda. They took Hakim Abu-l Fath, Khwaja Shamsu-d din and others prisoners, and began to pillage. Hakim Abu-l Fath with the Khwaja and Rai Patar Das effected their escape by artifice, and fled on foot. By the help of the *zamindars*, they managed to reach Hajipur. The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tanda, brought Muzaffar Khan out of his house upon a solemn assurance (of safety), and put him to death. They took possession of

164 "*Wazir Khan Jamil Beg.*"—*Badauni.*

his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihar fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. The Emperor some time before this had taken Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Muzaffar Khan.[163] The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the revolt increased.

Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Raja Todar Mal . . . and other *amirs* to repress it. *Farmans* were sent to Muhammad Ma'sum Farankhudi, governor of Jaunpur, and Samanji Khan and the *jagirdars* of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Todar Mal, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

While the Imperial army was on the march, Shaham Khan Jalair fought with Saiyid Badakhshi and killed him. When the army reached Jaunpur, Muhammad Ma'sum joined Todar Mal with 3000 horsemen fully armed, and marched on with him. But Muhammad Ma'sum was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his army had turned his brain, and he began to show many little actions savouring of disaffection, and to utter expressions indicative of disloyalty. Raja Todar Mal, like a prudent and experienced man, temporized with him, and did all he could to reassure and conciliate him.

When the Imperial army reached Mongir, 'Asi Kabuli and the Kakshals, and Mirza Sharafu d din Husain with 30,000 horse, and 500 elephants, and with war boats and artillery, in battle order, advanced to meet the Imperial army. Raja Todar Mal had no confidence in the (cohesion of the) adventurers composing the enemy's army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mongir, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept that position. Every day combats occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor,

[163] *To be kept in custody.—Akbar-nama.*

he on one occasion sent Zainu-d din Kambu by *dak-chauki* with a *lac* of rupees for the expenditure of the army. Some days after, he sent the same amount by the hands of Darya Khan *ab-dar,* and so on by different persons. At different times he sent a great deal of money.

At this time Humayun Farmuli and Tarkhan Diwana deserted the Imperial army and joined the insurgents. For four months the loyal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length some loyal *zamindars* of the vicinity cut off the supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Baba Khan Kakshal fell sick at Tanda and died. Jabbari, son of Majnun Khan Kakshal, who was the main prop of the rabble, being informed of the sinking condition of Baba Khan, wanted to go to Tanda. 'Asi (Ma'sum), not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bihar. 'Arab Bahadur made a rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure. Bihar Khan Khassa-khail[166] went into the fort of Patna, and held out. Raja Todar Mal and his supporters sent Muhammad Ma'sum Farankhudi with a detachment to the relief of Patna. On hearing of his approach, 'Arab Bahadur raised the siege, and went off towards Gajpati, one of the chief *zamindars* of that country.

The Raja and Sadik Khan, and . . . and the other *amirs* marched to Bihar after 'Asi Ma'sum, who sought an opportunity to make a night attack upon Sadik Khan's camp. But Sadik Khan was a wary commander, and on that night he and his men were prepared. Jan Beg and Ulugh Khan Habshi were in command of his advanced force, and the enemy attacking them unawares, Jan Beg was killed and Ulugh Khan fell back. Sadik Khan had to resist a sharp attack, but the Emperor's good fortune aided him, and he defeated Ma'sum, who

166 *"Commonly known as Saiyid 'Arif."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 283.*

went off to Bengal in sorry plight Now, Garhi fell into the hands of the royal troops

Among the strange occurrences of the time was this ; A letter was sent by the hands of Hasan *tawachi-bashi* to Shuja'at Khan, ruler of Malwa, summoning him to Court Accordingly, he and his son Kiyam Khan set off from Sarangpur to attend upon His Majesty His attendants were seized with the desire to rebel, so they killed both him and his son, and then dispersed, each one taking his own way When the Emperor heard this, he sent Sharif Khan Atka to be governor of Malwa, and called the young surviving children of Shuja'at Khan to Court

In consequence of the state of affairs in Bengal, 'Azam Khan who had been living for some time in retirement at Agra, was again received into favour, and he was sent with 5,000 horse to assume the government of Bihar [167] For greater security, Shahbaz Khan Kambu, who was engaged against Rana Kika, and had nearly driven the Rana from the country, was summoned and sent with an army to the support of the forces in Bengal When Shahbaz Khan came near to Hajipur, where 'Arab Bahadur had taken refuge with Raja Gajpati, he marched to attack him For one month he carried on operations against him, clearing away the jungle, until at length he drove off 'Arab Bahadur and made the Raja succumb

(The Emperor pays a visit to Sharif Khan Atka Hakimu l Mulk Gilani appointed "Leader of the Pilgrimage")

A despatch now arrived from Raja Todar Mal, stating that he had kept Muhammad Ma'sum Farankhudi along with him by conciliatory treatment and all

[167] *The MSS agree in this, but Badauni (vol ii, p. 285) says "Bengal" Abu l Fazl seems more accurate in saying he was appointed to the command in the Eastern Provinces — Akbar nama vol iii, p 275.*

kinds of expedients. That Khwaja Mansur (the *diwan*) had written sharp letters to him, claiming a good deal of money due from him. He (the *diwan*) had also written letters to Tarsun Muhammad Khan, one of the great *amirs* and commander of an army, holding out threats to him, at a time when encouragement was necessary. The sharp practice of the *diwan* having been repeatedly mentioned to His Majesty, he removed him from office, and placed him in charge of Shah Kuli Khan. An order was promulgated appointing Wazir Khan to be *diwan* in chief instead of him, and Kazi 'Ali, son of Kutbu-d din Baghdadi, was to assist him in deciding important questions.

A great natural curiosity was brought to the notice of the Emperor at this time. It was a man born without ears or any orifice of the ears, who yet heard all that was spoken, just like people with ears. His Majesty was greatly interested in the man, and settled a pension upon him.

(*Prince Daniyal makes the usual pilgrimage to Ajmir instead of the Emperor*).

Raja Todar Mal, Tarsun Muhammad Khan, and the other *amirs* took up their quarters in Hajipur during the rainy season. and Ma'sum Farankhudi, with their permission, went to Jaunpur, which was his *jagir*. There he began to show signs of disaffection. His Majesty therefore sent Peshrau Khan, *darogha* of the *farash-khana*, to set him at ease; he also gave him the country of Oudh instead of Jaunpur, and bestowed the latter upon Tarsun Khan. Ma'sum spoke dutiful words to Peshrau Khan, and did not show his disaffection; but as Oudh was near. he went there.

Niyabat Khan, son of Hashim Khan Naishapuri, who had grown up in the nurture of the Imperial Court, broke out in rebellion in his *jagir* of Jausa and Payag (Allahabad), and attacked the fort of Karra, which was the *jagir* of Isma'il Kuli Khan. Illyas Khan, who was *Shikkdar* of that place for Isma'il Kuli, fought

with him and was killed. He then invested the fort of Garha, and began to pillage. This being reported to His Majesty, he sent Ismail Kuli Khan, . . and several other *amirs* to repress him. He also sent Raja Birbal and Shah Kuli Khan Mahram to excite the hopes of Ma'sum Khan Farankhudi and bring him to Court.

When Wazir Khan had departed, Khwaja Mansur was released from confinement, and again appointed to the office of *diwan.*

As soon as Niyabat heard of the approach of the royal army he raised the siege of Karra, and went towards Kantal, one of the dependencies of Patna. The *amirs* followed him, crossed over the river, and came up with him. Niyabat Khan attacked them, and a hard fight ensued, but at last he was defeated and went off to Ma'sum Khan.

At this time, also. 'Arab Bahadur fled before Shahbaz Khan, and took refuge with Ma'sum.[168] Shahbaz Khan, in pursuit of him, went to Jaunpur, and from thence to Oudh against Ma'sum. But Ma'sum advanced to meet him, defeated him, and put him to flight. In one day Shahbaz Khan travelled forty *kos* to Jaunpur. Tarsun Muhammad Khan, who commanded the right wing of Shahbaz Khan's force, had been hidden by the jungle, and when Masum's army was disordered, this force came up and defeated it. When Shahbaz Khan was informed of this he returned immediately, joined his right wing, and rallying his forces, pursued the enemy. Ma'sum fought again in the vicinity of the city of Oudh, and was again defeated. His mother, and sisters, wives, and children, property and troops were taken. He himself fled to the Siwalik hills. This

[168]*Ma'sum Khan had an immense stock of the materials of war, "and there were thirty or forty banners, tughs and kettle-drums in his army."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 290.*

happened in the month of Zi-l hijja, in the year 988[169] H.

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 15th Safar, 989.[170]

In the beginning of this year intelligence arrived that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, allured by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by 'Asi Ma'sum Kabuli and Ma'sum Farankhudi, and urged on by his maternal uncle Faridun, had set out from Kabul with the object of conquering Hindustan. He sent his servant Shadman over the Indus (in advance), but Kunwar Man Singh, son of Raja Bhagwan Das, attacked him and killed him.[171] On hearing of this, the Mirza crossed the river, and encamped in the *pargana* of Saiyidpur.

The Emperor assembled his forces, and having advanced to all the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Panjab. Prince Daniyal remained at Fathpur, and Sultan Khwaja and Shaikh Ibrahim were there left in charge of affairs. Upon the Emperor's reaching the *sarai* of Bad, fifteen *kos* from Fathpur, he received intelligence of the victory of Shahbaz Khan over Ma'sum Farankhudi. Deeming this an auspicious omen, he continued his march.

When Kunwar Man Singh defeated Shadman, he obtained from Shadman's portfolio three letters from Mirza Muhammad Hakim: one to Hakimu-l Mulk, one to Khwaja Shah Mansur, and one to Muhammad Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr*; all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kunwar Man Singh sent these

[169] *Should be 989.*

[170] *This should be 990 (11th March, 1582).*

[171] *A force sent in advance of this had been defeated by Mirza Yusuf Khan, governor of the Panjab.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii. p. 310.*

letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact concealed

After the Emperor marched from Dehli, Mirza Muhammad Hakim advanced to Lahore, and encamped in the garden of Mahdi Kasim Khan. Kunwar Man Singh, Sa'id Khan, and Raja Bhagwan Das had gone into the fortress On the Emperor's reaching Panipat, Malik Sani Kabuli, *diwan* of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who had the title of Wazir Khan, deserted the Mirza, and came to the Imperial camp He alighted at the tent of Khwaja Shah Mansur, and made him the channel for offering his services to the Emperor When Khwaja Shah Mansur announced his arrival, the Emperor's suspicions were aroused, and he thought that the *diwan's* arriving at the time when his master was invading Hindustan must have some policy in it He was already suspicious of Mansur, and his doubts were now confirmed So he dismissed Mansur, and showed him the Mirza's letters Mansur asseverated (his innocence), but it was of no use

The Emperor proceeded to Shahabad, and Malik 'Ali brought him a letter to the following effect 'When my scouts were coming from the ford of Ludiana, which is under my charge, and reached the *sarai* of Sirhind, they found a footman with swollen feet This footman said to them, 'I belong to Sharaf Beg, the servant of Khwaja Shah Mansur He is the Khwaja's *shikkdar* in his *jagir* of Firozpur, thirty *kos* from Lahore These letters are to be delivered to the Khwaja, as my feet are in a bad state, do you convey the letters quickly to him' These letters my men have brought to me" When the secretary opened them, one was a letter from Sharaf Beg to Khwaja Mansur, about the affairs of Firozpur, and the other was a letter from one person to another person, and of the following purport: "I met Faridun Khan, and he carried me to wait upon Muhammad Hakim Badshah Although he had sent his revenue collectors into all the *parganas* of this quarter, he has

at Surkhab, fifteen *kos* from the army of the Prince. When the rear of the Prince's army was attacked and plundered, it so happened that Haji Muhammad Ahadi, who had gone on in advance as messenger (*dak-chauki*) to the Prince, arrived upon the spot, and beheld the rout. He turned back and reported the disaster, which annoyed the Emperor. But notwithstanding this news, next day the Emperor went on a stage, and then received accounts of the victory that had been gained, and for which he offered up his thanksgiving.

On Friday, 10th Rajab, he entered Kabul, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens. Here he was informed that Mirza Muhammad Hakim intended to abandon his country, and take refuge with the Uzbeks. Deeming this a disgrace and shame, he sent Latif Khwaja to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who was at Ghorband, to tell him that his offences were forgiven. The Mirza, having in the presence of Latif Khwaja made a promise and a vow of fidelity, executed an engagement, and sent it by 'Ali Muhammad Asp along with Latif Khwaja to the Emperor.

His Majesty then turned homewards to Hindustan, after conferring Kabul upon Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Leaving the army, he went on quickly to Jalalabad, where there was a large encampment. Prince Salim, and the nobles who were with him, hastened forth to meet His Majesty, and to congratulate him on his victory. Khwajagi Muhammad Husain, the brother of Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr*, who was one of Mirza Muhammad Hakim's nobles, came to proffer his services to the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his friends.

From Jalalabad he sent a detachment to attack the hills of the Kator infidels. Travelling by regular stages, he reached the banks of the Sind-sagar (Indus).[174]

[174] *"On the 12th Sha'ban."—Badauni, vol. ii. p. 295.*

Muhammad Kasim Khan who had been left behind to make a bridge, had constructed one of boats. The journey to Kabul had been performed in one month. In one day he (and his escort) crossed the river and went on to Lahore, where he arrived on the last day of Ramazan. He again entrusted the government of the Panjab to Sa'id Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, and Kunwar Man Singh, and went on his way hunting to Fathpur. At Panipat Shahbaz Khan came to wait upon him. On the 25th Shawwal he arrived at Dehli. Prince Daniyal and the *amirs* who had remained at Fathpur, and Her Highness Maryam Makani came forth to meet him, and on the 5th Zi-l ka'da he arrived there.

While the Emperor was engaged in the Kabul campaign, Bahadur 'Ali, son of Saiyid Badakhshi entered the country of Tirhut, and gave himself the title of Bahadur Shah;[175] but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khan-i 'azam. Masum Khan Farankhudi, being in great distress and anxiety in the Siwalik hills, begged forgiveness for his offences through Khan-i 'azam; and in consequence of the Khan's intercession he was pardoned. Then he waited upon Khan-i 'azam in humble guise, and was afterwards admitted to an interview with the Emperor at Fathpur.[176]

When the Emperor was waited upon at Kabul by the confidential servants of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, he made inquiry into the case of Khwaja Shah Mansur,

[175] *According to Badauni (vol. ii., p. 298), he caused the khutba to be read and coins to be struck in his name.*

[176] *He was soon afterwards murdered, as he was returning home from the palace. Niyabat was also "pardoned for the sake of his uncle Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, ruler of Malwa; but he was sent to the fort of Rantambhor, and confined. There he was guilty of things which cannot be mentioned, and stirred up a great mutiny among the prisoners: so in 998 he was condemned and executed."—Badauni, vol. ii, p. 299.*

and it appeared that Karmu-lla, brother of Shahbaz, had colluded with others to concoct letters, and that he had forged the last letter on the evidence of which Khwaja Mansur was executed. After this was discovered, the Emperor often regretted the execution of Khwaja. He now remained for some time at Fathpur, administering justice, dispensing charity, and arranging public business.

On the 19th Muharram, 990 H., Khan-i 'azam, governor of Hajipur and Patna, came to wait upon the Emperor, and to give an account of the affairs of Bengal. After staying several days, he was sent back to Bengal. and several nobles and soldiers who had been to Kabul was sent with him.

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 27th Safar, 991 (11th March, 1583 A.D.)

(A FESTIVAL OF EIGHTEEN DAYS' DURATION AT THE NAU-ROZ)

Shaham Khan Jalair from Bengal, and Raja Bhagwan Das from Lahore, came to wait upon his Majesty. It has been mentioned in a previous page how Khan-i'azam came with a number of *jagirdars* from Bengal to wait upon the Emperor, leaving the *suba* empty. Evil-minded men took advantage of their absence, and coming out of every corner began to excite disturbances. A servant of Ma'sum Kabuli, by name Khabita, in concert with Tarkhan Diwana and Surkh Badakhshi, raised commotions in Bihar. Muhammad Sadik Khan, with Muhibb 'Ali Khan, defeated him and killed him.

(*Return of Gulbadan Begam and Salima Sultan Begam from Mecca. Prince Salim sent to Ajmir to meet them, and to visit the shrine of Mu'inu-d din.*)

Muhammad Sadik Khan came from Bihar, and was well received, but he was soon sent to assist Khan-i'azam in suppressing the revolt of 'Asi Kabuli. Shah Kuli Khan and other *amirs* who had been on the Kabul cam-

paign were sent with him. About this time Mir Abu Turab and 'Itimad-Khan, who had visited the holy temple together, came to Court, and had an interview with His Majesty. Abu Turab had brought a stone upon which there was said to be an impression of the Prophet's foot. His Majesty went out four *kos* to receive this stone with every mark of honour. An order was issued that all the *amirs* in turn should carry it on their backs a few steps. So each one carried it a little way, and brought it into the city. (*Weighing of Prince Salim against gold and silver*). The traitor, Nur Muhammad by name, was brought a prisoner from Tirhut, and suffered punishment in the market.[177]

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Agreeing with 991 H.[178] (*Festival of the new year*). The news from Bengal was, that Khan-i'azam had occupied Tanda, that Khaldi Khan, Jabbar Burdi, and Mirza Beg Kakshal had separated from 'Asi Kabuli, and had come to Khan-i 'azam, and that 'Asi had sought refuge with certain *zamindars*. All the parts of Bengal that were in the possession of the rebels now came again under the authority of the Imperial officers.

As 'Itimad Khan had held the government of Gujarat for several years, he was better acquainted with the prosperous management of the country than others could be, and if the government were confirmed to him it might be the means of exciting the emulation of rulers in other countries. For this reason he was appointed governor of Gujarat. Mir Abu Turab was appointed *amin*, Khwaja Abu-l Kasim, brother of Mulla

[177]*He was a Tarkhan, and had been a rebel in Bengal. Having attacked a caravan of salt-merchants, they made a breastwork of their bags, and beat him off. He was afterwards taken near Gaya.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 388.*

[178]*Should be 992 (1584 A.D.)*

'Abdu-l Kadir was appointed *diwan,* and the humble servant Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the author of this work, was appointed *bakshi.* Muhammad Husain Shaikh and . . . were made *jagirdars* of Gujarat.

Amir Fathu-lla, one of the *saiyids* of Shiraz, a very wise and learned man, had gone from Siraz to 'Adil Khan in the Dakhin, and had there held high office. On the 22nd Rabi'u-s sani he came to visit the Emperor at Fathpur. Khan-khanan and Hakim Abu-l Fath were sent forth to meet him, and to bring him in with due honour. He was appointed to the exalted office of *Sadr.*

The suppression and dispersion of the rebels in Bengal was reported to the Emperor. It was known that 'Asi Kabuli was in the country of 'Aisi, and Khan-i 'azam was desirous of returning home. For these reasons the Emperor ordered Shahbaz Khan to proceed to Bengal, to allot the whole of that *sarkar* in *jagirs* to the soldiers, and to do his best to exterminate 'Asi Kabuli. On the 17th Jumada-s sani, he started to assume his duties.

In this year, an order was given for the translation into Persian of the *Maha-bharat,* which is the chief book of history of the Brahmans. The translation was completed, and received the name of *Razm-nama* (Book of War).

Information was now brought that Khan-i'azam had sent Shaikh Farid to make peace with Katlu Afghan (in Orissa). When the Shaikh reached his dwelling, and had an interview with him, Katlu was very humble. Bahadur Gauriya, one of the *zamindars* of Bengal, and a high officer in the army of Katlu, came to see the Shaikh, who then travelled on under the eyes of the *zamindars* and the servants of Katlu. Bahadur, in a hostile manner, blocked up the road by which the Shaikh was returning, and attacked him. Many of his men were killed, but the Shaikh escaped without injury.

Burhanu-l Mulk, brother of Murtaza Nizamu-l Mulk, ruler of the Dakhin, fled from his brother to

Kutbu-d din Khan[179] and by command he came from thence to wait upon the Emperor in the month of Rajab But before this, a person calling himself Burhanu l Mulk had waited upon the Emperor, and had obtained a *jagir* Now that the real man had come, and the imposture was displayed, the impostor fled and hid himself, but he was discovered after the lapse of a week among some *jogis*, and was cast into prison

An order was given to 'Itimad Khan to take away the country of Sirohi from Sarman Deori, and to give it to Jagmal his brother who was an adherent of the Imperial throne 1 000 *mohurs* (*muhrs*) was sent in charge of the writer of this work towards payment of the expenses When 'Itimad Khan arrived at Jalor, the author, Muhammad Ma'sum Bakhari Kambar Beg Ishang Aka, Zainu d din Kambu, and Pahlawan 'Ali Sistani, who was appointed *kotwal* of Ahmadabad, joined 'Itimad Khan Muhammad Husain Shaikh and several *jagirdars* of Gujarat remained behind After 'Itimad Khan arrived at Jalor, he proceeded to Sirohi, and having removed Sarman Deori, he installed Jagmal, whom he left there with Aghzan Khan, Mahmud Jalori, Bijad Deora, Rai Singh, son of Chandar Sen, son of Rai Mal Deo Then he proceeded towards Ahmadabad, and on approaching the city, Shahabu d din Ahmad Khan came out and posted himself in Usmanpur, one of the suburbs On the 12th Sha'ban, 'Itimad Khan went into the city Two days afterwards it was discovered that 'Abid Badakhsi and a large party of the servants of Shahabu-d din Khan had left him and gone off to Kathiwar, to invite Muzaffar Gujarati,[180] who was there living in the retirement to which he had been driven

[179] "*In Malwa*"—*Badauni, vol ii, p 324*

[180] "*Who had fled from the Imperial Court, and had sought refuge with his mother s relations*"—*Badauni, vol ii, p 327 Abu l Fazl says he was really*

by the Imperial arms; their object being to promote a revolt.

'Itimad Khan thought it desirable to have a conference with Shahabu-d din upon the subject; so he sent me, the author of this work, to him. When I saw him, he told me that this band of conspirators had a design against his life, and that they had for a long time been preparing this plot. Now that they had torn the veil from their designs. they would receive no encouragement or help from him. When I reported the state of the case to 'Itimad Khan, he thought it expedient to conciliate the conspirators; so he sent me and two other persons to appease them. But they rejected our overtures, and continued their journey. Shahabu-d din removed and went to Kari, twenty *kos* from Ahmadabad. We now sent several letters to Shahabu-d din urging him to delay his departure for a few days; but making no stay, he went on his way.[181]

On the 27th Sha'ban, the intelligence arrived that the rebels had come to Dulaka,[182] bringing with them Muzaffar and some Kathiwar people.

Kambar Beg Ishang Aka now came in from Shahabu-d din, reporting that he had promised to stay at Kari. 'Itimad Khan, Mir Abu Turab, and I, therefore went forth to see Shahabu-d din, to mollify him and bring him back with us. Towards the close of day, 'Itimad Khan set off for Kari. It had been urged upon him that it was not right for the ruler of a city to leave

an obscure individual named Tannu, who took the name of Muzaffar, and called himself son of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat.—Akbar-nama vol. iii., p. 404. According to Blockmann he was called "Nathu", which means "dwarf".—Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 38.

[181]*The author's words are explicit, though they seem to be inconsistent with what follows.*

[182]*"Twelve kos from Ahmadabad".—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 327.*

it when the enemy was at a distance of only twelve *kos*. But it was of no avail. He left his own son with Amir Ma'sum Bakhari and . . . and my son, and started. When he and I reached Kari, we talked with Shahabu-d din, and we reconciled him, upon our promise that the *parganas* which he had for a long time held in *jagir* should be relinquished to him, and that he should be paid a subsidy of two *lacs* of rupees. In fact, all he asked was conceded. Towards close of day, 'Itimad Khan and he set out from Kari, to return to Ahmadabad. On the same day that 'Itimad Khan went to Kari, Muzaffar Gujarati came to Ahmadabad. The men of the city gave him (access to) the fort, and as part of the wall was broken down, he made his way in immediately.

At midnight, when ('Itimad Khan and) Shahabu-d din were ten *kos* from Ahmadabad, they were met by Mir Ma'sum Bakhari and Zainu-d din Kambu, who had come out of the city and brought the news. They alighted, and after consultation decided that as the enemy had gained only one day, he had had no time to strengthen himself, and that we must get into the city as he had done. So we went on to the city, and in the morning arrived at Usmanpur, which is on the side of the river near the city. Muzaffar Gujarati came forth, and drew up his forces on the sandy bank of the river. Shahabu-d din was quite helpless, because his men were not trustworthy, and many of them ran off. I did all I could with a few men, but without effect. My son who had been left in the city in charge of the fort, was plundered of everything. Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan and 'Itimad Khan took to flight, and went to Nahrwala, better known as Pattan, forty-five *kos* from Ahmadabad. I, the author, wrote a report of the occurrences to the Emperor.

Three days afterwards Muhammad Husain Shaikh . . . . and other *jagirdars* of Gujarat came to Pattan, and having set the fort in order, prepared to hold out. Muza-

ffar Gujarati gave away *jagirs* and titles to the leading rebels, and busied himself in collecting forces. Sher Khan Fuladi had been governor of Pattan for many years, but had (since) lived for some years in adversity in the country of Surath. He joined Muzaffar Gujarati, who sent him with four thousand horse towards Pattan. When Sher Khan arrived at Kari, he sent forward his men to the town of Jutana, twenty *kos* from Pattan.[183] I attacked them and defeated them, and left Mir Muhibbu-lla . . . . and a detachment of soldiers at that place. Zainu-d din Kambu was sent to Kutbu-d din, governor of Broach and Baroda, desiring him to advance from that side against Ahmadabad, so that the enemy might be attacked on two sides and overpowered. Zainu-d din went to Kutbu-d din, and brought him to Baroda. When Muzaffar was informed of his arrival there, he led a large force to attack him, and Kutbu-d din, having fought in an unsoldier-like way, was defeated, and had to take refuge in the fort of Baroda. Many of his men and officers joined Muzaffar.

Sher Khan Fuladi now advanced as far as the town of Masana,[184] fifteen *kos* from Pattan, and great consternation fell upon the garrison, so much so that they were on the point of abandoning Pattan, and going off to Jalor. I resolved at all hazard to fight, and went to encounter Sher Khan. Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan and 'Itimad Khan stopped in Pattan,[185] the other *amirs* joined me. When we reached Masana, we found that Sher Khan had drawn up his forces, and he advanced to attack us with five thousand horse, while we did not ex-

[183]*South of Pattan, and about twelve miles north of Kari.*

[184]*"Mysana" in the maps. About twenty miles north of Kari.*

[185]*These two nobles "had determined to fly towards Jalor, but through the efforts of Nizamu-d din Ahmad they remained in Pattan."—Badauni, Vol. ii., p. 339.*

ceed two thousand Sher Khan was defeated, and went off to Ahmadabad. Many of his men were killed, and a large booty fell into our hands I strenuously urged that we should advance against Ahmadabad,[186] but the *amirs* who were with me would not agree

When we reached Kari, we remained there, awaiting the arrival of the soldiers who had been sent to Pattan with the spoils of our victory We waited twelve days, and during that time several persons were sent to Pattan to collect men We now heard that Muzaffar Gujarati had bombarded the fort of Baroda, and that Kutbu d din, having received a promise (of safe conduct), had sent Zainu d din Kambu out (to treat) Muzaffar, regardless of his pledge, put Jainu d din to death. Kutbu d din, although the perfidy and vow breaking of Muzaffar were manifest, was so demented, so blinded by fate, that he trusted to the promise of that promise breaker, and went out to him[187] Then, at the instigation of Tarwari, *Zamindar* of Pipla, he was put to death Upon hearing of this, I, and the men who were with me at Kari, returned to Pattan

From Baroda Muzaffar went to Broach, and the officers of Kutbu d din surrendered the fortress He obtained there fourteen *lacs* of rupees which were in the royal treasury at Kambay, and had been conveyed to Broach by Khwaja 'Imadu d din Husain And he also got possession of all the property and treasures of Kutbu d din, which exceeded ten *krors* Collecting the soldiers and Rajputs from all parts near him, he raised his force to nearly thirty thousand men

When these occurrences were brought to the know

[186] *"This was the proper course under the circumstances, for intelligence of Kutbu d din Muhammad's affair had not as yet been received"—Badauni, vol ii, p 330*

[187] *He was at first received with great kindness and honour—Badauni vol ii, p 331*

ledge of the Emperor, he sent Mirza Khan, son of Bairam Khan, along with the *jagirdars* of Ajmir, such as Payinda Muhammad Khan Mughal . . . and others too numerous to mention, by way of Jalor and Pattan; and he also sent Kalij Khan, who was the *jagirdar* of Surat, with . . *jagirdars* of Malwa, by the way of Malwa. This latter force had arrived at Sultanpur and Nandurbar[188] while Muzaffar was engaged at Broach, but dread of Muzaflar prevented them from advancing a step further. I, the author, every day wrote letters from Pattan to Mirza Khan, urging his speedy approach. When he arrived with his force at Sirohi, I went forth to meet him, and brought him on with all speed. He remained one day in Pattan, and then advanced.

When Mirza Khan's arrival became known to Muzaffar Gujarati, he left Broach, and returned to Ahmadabad, leaving the fort of Broach in charge of Nasir, his brother's son, and Charkas Rumi, one of the Imperial servants who had deserted to Muzaflar. Mirza Khan and his army encamped at Sarkaj, three *kos* from Ahmadabad. Muzaffar pitched his camp opposite the Imperial army, two *kos* distant, near the tomb of Shah Bhikan (God rest his soul!).

On the day the two armies were thus brought near to each other and afterwards some fighting went on, to the advantage of the Imperial arms, until Friday, 16th Muharram, 991, when Muzaffar marshalled his forces and attacked us. Mirza Khan, on his side, had made his dispositions. I, the author, and . . . were directed to keep the town of Sarkaj on our right, and to fall upon the rear of the enemy. The two armies met, and the battle began. Saiyid Hashim and Khizr Aka, *vakil* of Mirza Khan, were slain, and many men fell. While Muzaffar was engaged with Mirza Khan, I brought round my men, and fell upon his rear. Rai Durga, also,

[188] *Sultanpur lies about twenty miles north of the Tapti; Nandurbar nearly the same distance south of it.*

of the left wing, under the orders of Mirza Khan, followed to support me Muzaffar was put to flight, and great numbers of his men were slain [189] Next morning Mirza Khan entered the city, and issued a proclamation of amnesty so that every one felt reassured Muzaffar fled to Ma murabad and the banks of the Mahindari river From thence he went to Kambay Many of the fugitives rejoined him there so that his force again rose to nearly ten[190] thousand men [191]

Three days after the victory, Kalij Khan arrived at Ahmadabad with the army of Malwa Mirza Khan and all the *amirs* then marched towards Kambay On their arriving at ten *kos* from the place Muzaffar went off towards Baroda When Mirza Khan reached the village of Basad, near Patlad, on the bank of the Mahindari [192] he sent Kalij Khan and on in advance to overtake and attack the enemy, but this force deterred by the difficulty and narrowness of the road came to a halt, and Muzaffar got off to Raj pipla and Nadot [193]

Mirza Khan and his army entered Baroda on the

[189] *Abu l Fazl says the Imperial force amounted to only 10,000 horse, while their opponents numbered 40 000 horse and 100 000 foot —Akbar nama, vol iii, p 465*

[190] *Badauni (vol ii, p 333) makes the number to be "2,000"*

[191] *Abu l Fazl blames the Imperialists for not pursuing the enemy, and for allowing him time to levy contributions on Kambay and assemble his adherents —Akbar nama, vol iii, p 467*

[192] *This shows that "Mahindari" is another name for the Mahi or Mhye, for there is no other river near Patlad, and the maps give a "Wassud" on its northern bank*

[193] *Raj pipla is south of the Nerbadda, almost on a line with Broach Nadot is no doubt Nandod, between the Nerbadda and Raj pipla*

16th, and there rested. While he was there, intelligence arrived that Saiyid Daulat, one of the officers of Muzaffar, had entered Kambay, and overpowered the royal forces in the place. Naurang Khan[194] was sent to repress this diversion, and having driven out the insurgent, he returned. Saiyid Daulat then came back and seized the town again. Khojam Burdi, an officer of Mirza Khan's, marched against him from Patlad, and defeated him. Mirza Khan marched with his army to Nadot, and Muzaffar went off into the mountains. Atalik Bahadur now deserted from the Imperial army, and joined Muzaffar. So the insurgents were again set in motion.

Mirza Khan imprisoned San Bahadur Uzbek, of whom he was suspicious on account of his relations with Atalik Bahadur, and he resolved to attack the rebels. Sharif Khan and Naurang Khan were appointed to the right, Kalij Khan and Tolak Khan to the left, Payinda Khan and some other *amirs* to the advance. I was sent forward to reconnoitre, and find out the best way of attacking the enemy.[195]

When I reached the foot of the hills, I attacked the enemy's infantry, and drove them back for a good *kos* to where their main force was drawn up in array. A sharp action ensued. The discharge of arrows and bullets was quite bewildering, and many men and horses on both sides were wounded. I dismounted some of my best men, and rode on with them to the mountain, and I sent some to call up Kalij Khan. I also sent Khwaja Muhammad Rafia', a man renowned for his courage. Kalij Khan came up on the left, and becoming engaged, he bore back the enemy a little. But reinforcements were brought up by the enemy, and Kalij Khan and Tolak Khan were repulsed, and fell back a bow-shot dis-

[194] *Tolak Khan in one MS.*

[195] *Mir Ma'sum Bakhari was associated with him.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 429.*

tance The men whom I had dismounted, while the enemy was pushing after Kalij Khan, finding the way clear, ascended the hill When the enemy returned, they attacked us, and many men were killed Kalij Khan had found some shelter and held his ground I sent to Mirza Khan for the elephant guns (*hath nal*) They were brought up upon the elephants, and we discharged several guns against the spot where Muzaffar was stand ing Naurang Khan now came up the mountain which covered the enemy's left, and got the command of his position When the balls from the elephant guns fell in the midst of Muzaffar's division, he fled, and great numbers of his men were taken prisoners or killed The Imperial arms obtained a complete victory[196] Mirza Khan returned, and came to Ahmadabad, where he busied himself in arranging the affairs of the army and the peasantry He left Kalij Khan and . the other Malwa *amirs* to proceed against Broach For seven months he remained in Ahmadabad, and at the end of that time the fort of Broach was captured Charkas Rumi, who had deserted Kutbu d din Muhammad Khan to join Muzaffar, and was appointed by him com mandant of the fortress of Broach, was taken in the fort, and executed Nasir, who was also an officer, escaped, though half dead

At the time when Mirza Khan was sent to Gujarat, His Majesty commanded a city and fort to be built at Payag, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, to which the name of Illahabas was given His Majesty went there by boat from Agra and spent four months there pleasantly When intelligence of the killing of Kutbu d din and the spread of the revolt in Gujarat arrived, His Majesty started for Agra and Fathpur, so

[196]*Abu l Fazl places the scene of this action near Nandod, south of the Nerbadda, and estimates the loss of the enemy at 2,000 killed and 500 prisoners—Akbar-nama, vol iii, p 430*

that he might set out from the latter place to Gujarat. On reaching Etawa, intelligence of the victory arrived, and so he stayed at Fathpur. He sent *farmans* to the *amirs* in Gujarat. To Mirza Khan he gave the title of Khan-khanan, a horse, a robe, a jewelled dagger, and the banner of 5,000[197] (*tuman tugh*). On me, the author, he bestowed a horse, a robe, and increased emoluments. All the officers received marks of his favour.

After his second defeat, Muzaffar Gujarati retreated by way of Champanir, Birpur,[198] and Jhalawar,[199] to the country of Surath,[200] and rested at the town of Gondol, twelve *kos*[201] from the fort of Junagarh. His scattered forces gathered round him from all sides, so that he mustered nearly three thousand horse and foot. He gave a *lac* of Mahmudis and a jewelled dagger to Amin Khan Ghori, ruler of Surath, and so won his support. He gave a similar sum to Jam Marsal,[202] Raja of Jhalawar, who was at the head of a body of troops and clansmen. He once more formed designs against Ahmadabad. Amin Khan, being cautious, said to Muzaffar, "Go to the Jam, and take him along with you. I will attend to the provisions for the army, and will follow you." When Muzaffar went to the Jam, he drew back and said, "You march and advance against Ahmadabad: I will follow." On the arrival of Muzaffar at Morbi,[203] sixty *kos* from Ahmadabad, and the

[197]*Badauni (vol. ii., p. 336) makes this clear by using the words panj hazari.*

[198]*"Birpur" or "Virpur", fifty miles north-east of Ahmadabad?*

[199] *Jhalawar is one of the ten prants or districts of Kathiwar. It is on the northern side.*

[200]*See note supra.*

[201]*North-east.*

[202]*Badauni's reading (vol. ii., p. 359) is "Sattarsal", which looks more correct.*

[203]*The "Morvi" or "Morbi" of the maps, in the*

intelligence of his advance being brought to Khan Khanan, the Khan set off with all diligence to encounter him. When Muzaffar reached Param gam, forty *kos* from Morbi, and neither the Jam nor Amin Khan arrived, he returned disheartened and distracted towards the mountains of Barda.[204] Then he proceeded to Jagat, which is the extreme town of Surath, and well known under the name of Dwarka.[205]

The Jam sent his *vakils* to Khan-Khanan, to represent that he was friendly to the Imperial Government; that he had taken money from Muzaffar, but had not joined him, and that he was then ready to conduct the army to the place where Muzaffar was staying. Amin Khan, also, through the introduction of Mir Turab, sent his son to wait upon Khan-Khanan, and assure him of his good wishes. The Jam's men guided Khan Khanan on a rapid march into the mountains of Barda, which were plundered and ravaged. A vast quantity of booty was obtained, and many men were killed or made prisoners.

Muzaffar, with five hundred Mughal horsemen, and five hundred Kathiwar horsemen, went off towards Gujarat, and proceeded to a place called Othaniya, which is situated between the Sabarmati river and the mountain defiles, and was held by a rebellious Kol named Bhai. When Khan-Khanan went away (into the mountains), he left Medini Rai, Khojam Bardi, . . . and others in charge of the army at Hadala, near to Danduka,[206] on the high road to Kambay. He also left Bayan

north of Kathiwar, on the route which crosses the Ran

[204]*Barda or Jaitwar is a prant or district of Kathiwar. It is bounded on the west by the sea, and the river Bhadar is for some distance its southern boundary.—Thornton, s.v. "Burda".*

[205]*On the coast.*

[206]*About twenty miles N. E. of Danduka.*

Bahadur and . . . with a division at Paranti,[207] four *kos* from Othaniya.

When Muzaffar proceeded to Othaniya, Saiyid Kasim Barha came from Pattan to Bijapur,[208] which is thirty *kos* from Othaniya; and the force which was at Hadala came and joined the one at Paranti. Muzaffar, supported by the Kols and Grassias, and all the disaffected *zamindars* of the vicinity, gave battle to the force which was at Paranti; but he was signally defeated, and his elephants and canopy fell into the hands of the victors. Many of his men were killed, and he himself escaped barefoot and half-dead.

While Khan-khanan was thus engaged in the mountains of Barda, it became known that the Jam was not acting honestly. His *vakils* were dismissed, and sent back to him. The Jam prepared to oppose us, and collected an army of twenty thousand horse[209] and innumerable infantry. When Khan-khanan came to within seven *kos* of him, he sent an envoy to make his apologies, and he also sent his son with three large elephants and eighteen Arab horses[210] to Khan-khanan, expressing his earnest desire to enter into a treaty, and to act in a friendly way. Khan-khanan then returned to Ahmadabad, and five months afterwards he was summoned to the Imperial Court, whither he proceeded in all haste.

Muzaffar was then in Kathiwar, and was greatly aggrieved with Amin Khan for having taken his money, and not having given him any help. Supported by the people of Kathiwar and the *zamindars*, he collected an army, and marched against Amin Khan, who took shelter in the fort of Amartali. Intelligence of this was

[207] *Thirty miles north of Ahmadabad.*

[208] *About twenty miles N.W. of Paranti.*

[209] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 360) makes the number only "8,000 horse".*

[210] *"Horses of Kach, which are like Arabs."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 360.*

brought to Kalij Khan and me, who were at Ahmadabad. Kalij Khan remained in the city, and I went out with Saiyid Kasim Khan Barha, Medini Rai and . . ., and marched forward with all speed to Surath.

When I reached Hadala, Muzaffar, feeling unable to contend with me, raised the siege of Amin Khan, and went off towards Kach. I then sent Mir Kalij and . . . to Amin Khan, proposing that we should in concert pursue Muzaffar into Kathiwar. I pushed forward and went to Morbi. Muzaffar fled and crossed the Ram, which is an inlet of the sea, and took the road to Jessalmir. In some places the breadth of the water of the Ran is ten *kos* and twenty *kos*. He went into the country which they call Kach, on the other side of this water. When I reached Morbi, the Jam and Amin Khan sent their sons to me, and having entered into engagements with me, I returned towards Biram-gam.[211]

Intelligence now arrived of the departure of Khankhanan from Court, and of his having gone to the neighbourhood of Sirohi, with the intention of taking Sirohi and Jalor. I, in agreement with Saiyid Kasim Khan, proceeded with my men to join him. The Raja of Sirohi came to see Khan khanan, and paid a sum of money as tribute. Ghazin Khan, of Jalor, also came forward. But when Khan-khanan was on his way to Court, Ghazin had shown some rudeness and signs of disaffection; he was therefore imprisoned, and possession was taken of the fort of Jalor. Khan khanan went and took up his residence at Ahmadabad.

To return to home affairs. Twenty days after Khankhanan arrived at Court, intelligence was brought of the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the Emperor's brother. Orders were given to Raja Bhagwan Das and Kunwar Man Singh, the governor of the Panjab, to go

[211]*Or "Viram-gam", twenty-five miles east Ahmadabad.*

and take possession of Kabul. His Majesty himself proceeded to the Panjab.

At this time Mir Murtaza and Khudawand Khan, ruler of the country of Birar in the Dakhin, marched to attack Ahmadnagar.[212] They were defeated in battle by Salabat Khan, the *vakil* of Nizamu-l Mulk, and then came complaining to the Imperial Court. A *farman* was sent to 'Azam Khan, ruler of Malwa, directing him to march against the Dakhin, and subdue Birar. *Farmans* were also sent to Mir Murtaza, Khudawand Khan. Tirandaz Khan, and other men of the Dakhin. Many of the great nobles, such as 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan, . . Rai Durga[213] Raja Askaran,[214] . . and many others, too numerous to mention, were sent with artillery, three hundred elephants, and the army of Malwa on this expedition. Mir Fathu-lla, who had received the title of 'Azdu-d daula, was sent to make arrangements in the Dakhin. Khwajagi Fathu-lla was appointed *bakhshi*, and Mukhtar Beg *diwan* of this army.

This force concentrated at Hindia,[215] on the borders of the Dakhin. 'Azam Khan had a feud with Shahbu-d din Ahmad Khan, then ruler of Ujjain, because he suspected Shahabu-d din of having instigated the murder of his father. 'Azdu-d daula endeavoured to assuage his animosity; but 'Azam Khan was a passionate man, and insulted both Shahabu-d din and 'Azdu-d daula. For six months the force remained inactive at Hindia, and at length matters reached such a pitch that Shahabu-d din, being offended with 'Azam Khan, went off to his *jagir* of Raisin. 'Azam Khan marched to attack him, and a dire calamity was upon the point of falling upon the

[212] *"The capital of Nizamu-l Mulk."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 343.*

[213] *See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, vol. i., p. 417.*

[214] *Ib. p. 458.*

[215] *On the south bank of the Nerbadda, Lat. 77.*

royal army, but 'Azdu-d daula managed to effect a reconciliation.

When Raja 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur, saw these dissensions in the Imperial army, he gathered his forces and marched against Azdu-d daula. On his approach, 'Azdu-d daula went to him, and sought to win him over, but he did not succeed, so he retreated to Gujarat to strengthen Khan Khanan.

The above-named ('Azam Khan) went towards Birar, and plundered Elichpur, but not being able to maintain his ground, proceeded towards Nandurbar[216]. The Dakhinis followed march by march, and 'Azam Khan, notwithstanding his great strength, fell back before them, till he reached Nandurbar. He wrote letters to Khan Khanan at Ahmadabad, calling for assistance, and Khan Khanan sent me and a number of *amirs*, such as . . ., on in advance, and declared his own intention of following. When I arrived at Mahmudabad, 'Azam Khan left his army at Nandurbar, and proceeded with a few attendants to Ahmadabad. Khan-Khanan came out quickly from Ahmadabad to receive him, and they met at the place where I was resting, and then returned to Ahmadabad. 'Azam Khan's sister was wife of Khan Khanan, so he went to see her, and the two Khans resolved to proceed afterwards against the Dakhinis.

I and my associates marched against the rebels to Baroda, and Khan Khanan and 'Azam Khan followed me; but the latter went on quickly, in order to get the army at Nandurbar ready. Khan Khanan wrote to me, directing me to wait at Baroda till he arrived. When the Khan arrived, he proceeded with the army to Broach, and on reaching that place he received letters from 'Azam Khan, in which he said, that as the rainy season had begun, operations must be postponed to the following year, and then they would proceed together.

[216]*Elichpur is in Birar, and Nandurbar in Kandesh, about 200 Miles due west of the former.*

Rai Singh. When I reached Halwad, I sent a detachment to ravage the villages in the *pargana* of Malia,[222] which belongs to Khangar; and I sent another detachment, under Medini Rai, to Amarun, against Muzaffar. Upon their approaching that place, Muzaffar went off to Kathiwar and hid himself. The Jam sent his son to me to make excuses for his cruel treatment of Rai Singh, and Khangar also sent his agents to renew his promises of loyalty. I then returned to Ahmadabad. After my arrival there Kalij Khan started for Surat, and encamped outside the city.

It then occurred to Muzaffar that after the departure of the army and the return of each man to his *jagir*, he would make a dash upon Dulaka and Kambay, as he might thus be able to raise a force before the return of the Imperial army. So he advanced rapidly upon Dulaka at the head of two thousand horsemen, Kathis and Jharejas. On receiving letters from Medini Rai, who was at Dulaka, I instantly took horse and started thither. As I was resting till evening at Sarkaj,[223] Kalij Khan came in and joined me with all the chief nobles and men of the city. Next morning we arrived at Dulaka, but then Muzaffar was four *kos* away. For when his scouts informed him that the army of Ahmadabad was approaching, he fell back to Morbi.

The Imperial army occupied Dulaka, and at night Kalij Khan returned to Ahmadabad. I and my companions followed Muzaffar. One night and the next day we travelled forty-five *kos*. On reaching Biram-gam, we heard that Muzaffar had gone to the village of Akhar, which was four *kos* off, and had there shut up Saiyid Mustafa, son of Saiyid Jalal, who happened to be there with his family. Night had come on, and we were unable to proceed farther. So I sent twenty horsemen, with a pair kettle-drums, directing them to go about a *kos* from

[222] *Near the edge of the Ran.*
[223] *Opposite Ahmadabad.*

the village, and beat them, that Muzaffar might suppose our army to be near and give up the siege By God's help my stratagem succeeded, the beleaguered people were released, and Muzaffar went off to the Ran and Kach In the morning I mounted and hastened off in pursuit I went as far as the Ran, then leaving an outpost in the village of Jhajusa,* near the water, I returned to Ahmadabad.

Four months afterwards the *zamindars* of Kach collected a force of nearly a thousand horse and ten thousand foot, under the command of Jasa and Bajain, nephews of Khangar They proceeded to the village of Radhanpur,[224] one of the dependencies of Pattan, and laid siege to the fort When intelligence of this arrived at Ahmadabad, I and . went off to relieve the place On hearing of our approach, the enemy took flight, passed over the Ran, and went into their own country.

It was necessary to put an end to these proceedings, so I crossed over the Ran into Kach at a place where the water was not more than three *kos* wide, and set to work plundering and destroying We burnt and destroyed the towns of Kari, and Kataria, two places well known in Kach We realized an enormous booty, and after plundering and destroying nearly three hundred villages in the course of three days, we re crossed the Ran opposite Malia and Morbi. Here the Ran was twelve *kos* wide, and we were engaged from dawn till eve in the passage The water was up to a man's naval After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the *parganas* of Malia and Morbi which belonged to Khangar

We remained at Morbi three days Here I wrote to Khangar, telling him how I had been informed that the hostile proceedings were the work of Jasa and Bajain, and had not been sanctioned by him I had therefore inflicted a little punishment Had it been

*Doubtful

[224]*A town sixty miles west of Pattan*

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[2]*Near the edge of the Ran.*
[3]*Opposite Ahmadabad.*

ached the Imperial Court at Lahore in fourteen days, and was most graciously received.

The intelligence of the successes in Gujarat reached the Emperor as he was travelling. He returned thanks to God for his success, and continued his journey in great joy. At this time Zain Khan Koka, Raja Ram Chandar, Raja of Bittiah, a man of high repute among the Rajas of Hindustan, who had never before acknowledged allegiance to the Sultans of Hindustan, now expressed his desire of doing so, and came to wait upon the Emperor at Fathpur. He was graciously received. He presented as his tribute one hundred and twenty elephants, and a fine ruby, valued at fifty thousand rupees.

THIRTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The thirtieth year of the reign and the *Nauroz i Sultani* or New Year's Day of the Ilahi era, now arrived. (*Rejoicings*). Letters arrived from Mirza Muhammad Hakim, relating that 'Abdu lla Khan Uzbek had obtained possession of Badakhshan, and that Mirza Shah Rukh and Mirza Sulaiman were coming to Hindustan (*Mirza Shah Rukh crosses the Indus and meets with a gracious reception from the Emperor in 993 H Marriage of Prince Salim with the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. Great ceremony and rejoicing*)

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otherwise, I would have attacked Bhuj, his residence. If he did not henceforth act loyally, he would see what would happen. Khangar sent his *vakils* to me with his apologies. After this a barrier was raised (against inroads).

In the year 995 the younger son of Amin Khan rebelled against him, and went to Muzaffar, and brought him against his father. When I heard this, I went with . . against Muzaffar, to repress this outbreak. On arriving at Rajkot,[225] 80 *kos* from Ahmadabad, and thirty from Junagarh, Muzaffar made off towards the Ran. Sidi Rihan, *vakil* of Amin Khan, and a promoter of the strife, with Nokin Gohil, and other *zamindars*, and Bir Khan Singh, Malik Rajan, and others of the chief men of those parts, nearly five hundred horsemen, separated from the insurgents, and came in to make peace. I treated them hospitably, and held out to them expectations of royal favour. The Jam and Amin Khan also sent their sons to me, and renewed their professions of loyalty.

After returning to Ahmadabad, I turned my thoughts to the repression of the Grassias. In the course of two months I fitted out an army, and then marched towards Othaniya and Ahmadnagar. I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolis and Grassias, and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check. Falling back with my forces, I went to Wakaniru and Sarnal,[226] to put down the mutinous proceedings of the Grassias. Having put Chait Rawat to death, I removed Karmi Koli, Kishna Koli, and Lakha Rajput, who were the principal Grassias of those parts, and left forts and garrisons in their places.

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of the army, and . . . were all killed. On the 5th Rabi'u-awwal Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abu-l Fath were defeated, and reached the fort of Atak with difficulty.

This defeat greatly troubled the Emperor. He dismissed these commanders, and sent Raja Todar Mal with a large army to repair the disaster. The Raja entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghans to great straits. Raja Man Singh, who had marched against these sectaries, fought a hard battle with them in the Khaibar Pass, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The Raja obtained a great victory.

News now arrived that Mir Kuraish was coming to Court as an ambassador from 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, King of Mawarau-n nahr, bringing presents. Nazar Be,[233] who was one of the great nobles of 'Abdu-lla Khan, being offended with the Khan, was also coming with his three sons, Kabz Be, Shadi Be, and Baki Be, all of whom had attained the rank of nobles. The Emperor sent Shaikh Farid Bakhshi and Ahmad Beg Kabuli, with a party of *ahadis*, to meet the caravan and bring it through the Khaibar Pass. This armed party, with the help of Kunwar Man Singh, brought the caravan through the pass, having beaten the black sectaries who attempted to block the road, and killed many of them.

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

n the 11th Rabi'u-l akhir, 995 (11th March, 1587 D.), when the sun passed from Pisces to Aries, the *uroz-i Sultani* was celebrated at the fort of Atak, and nwar Man Singh came to the feast.

When Mirza Shah Rukh, Raja Bhagwan Das, and h Kuli Khan Mahram reached the pass of

[233] "*An Uzbek, and ruler of Balkh.*"—*Badauni, vol.* . *351.*

Bhuliyas,[234] on the confines of Kashmir, Yusuf Khan, the ruler of that country, came up and blockaded the pass The Imperial forces remained for some days in active, snow and rain came on, and the supplies of corn were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Zain Khan arrived, and the army was in great difficulty The *amirs* resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by saffron, shawls, and by the mint to the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors[235] Yusuf was delighted with these terms, and came to visit the *amirs*, and they brought him along with them to see the Emperor. When they came to Court, the Emperor disapproved of the peace, and the *amirs* were forbidden his presence; but after some days they were allowed to make their obeisances

About this time the ambassador of 'Abdu lla Khan with Nazar Be, and his sons arrived, and had an interview Ismaîl Kuli Khan and Rai Singh also arrived, bringing with them the chief men and leaders of the Biluchis A sum of four *lacs* of *tankas* equal to five hundred *tumans* of 'Irak, was presented as a gift to Nazar Be and his sons. After the feast of the *Nauroz* was over, Kunwar Man Singh was ordered to go to the support of Raja Todar Mal, who had been sent against the Yusufzai Afghans and others When the Emperor had settled the course to be pursued with the Afghans, and the affairs of Atak and Kabul, he resolved to return to Lahore, and started on the 24th Rabi'u s sani. Hunting and amusing himself as he went, he arrived at Lahore on the 18th Jumada s sani[236]

[234] *"Phulbas" —Badauni, vol. ii, p 352*

[235] *"They gave the country entirely over to Yusuf" —Badauni, vol. ii, p. 352*

[236] *The author's arrangement has been slightly changed here. In his diary style of writing, several lines are interposed between the Emperor's departure for and arrival at Lahore.*

and a few men who were with him at the time, fought and perished. The Emperor sent Zain Khan Koka and . . with a large force to subdue these heretics, who occupied the Khaibar Pass, and closed the road between Kabul and Hindustan. Kunwar Man Singh marched from Kabul,[239] and attacked and defeated them in the Khaibar, and put a great many of them to the sword. He then occupied Jamrud, and left a detachment in the Khaibar.

Mirza Sulaiman, having returned from his pilgrimage to Mecca, once more tried his fortune in Badakhshan; but he was unable to contend against 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, and fled to Kabul. From thence he went to Hindustan, and was received by the Emperor in the month of Rabi'u-l awwal, 995 H.

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 23rd Rabi'u-l akhir, 996 H. (11th March, 1588). (*Festival of New Year's Day.*)

Kunwar Man Singh completely subdued Jalala the sectary, so that he could no longer make any resistance, and was compelled to take flight towards Bangash. 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan, and . . . were sent after him with a detachment to Bangash. Jalala deceived the royal commanders, and gathering a numerous force around him, he attacked them, and a fierce battle ensued. But the rabble were defeated and put to flight, and many of them were killed.

[239] "*Next day the heretics assembled in great force, and howling all night and day like jackals, they kept up a fight in all directions. At this crisis Man Singh's brother, Madhu Singh, who was stationed at Ohind with Isma'il Kuli Khan, arrived with a strong force to the assistance of his brother. The Afghans then fled, and nearly 2,000 were killed.*"—*Badauni, vol. ii., p. 355.*

In this year a son was born to Prince Salim by the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das (*Rejoicings*)

CAMPAIGN AGAINST SHIWAN

In this year Sadik Khan, the governor of Bhakar, under orders, proceeded to attack the country of Tatta He besieged the fort of Sihwan, and Jani Beg, ruler of Tatta, grandson of Muhammad Baki Tarkhan, following the humble practice of his ancestors, sent envoys with suitable gifts to the Imperial Court The Emperor took compassion on him, and sent a *farman* to Sadik Khan, saying "I bestow the country upon Jani Beg Withdraw from its occupation " On the 25th Zi l ka'da the envoys of Jani Beg received leave to depart, and to show them greater honour, Hakim Ainu l Mulk was sent with them and they received many princely gifts

At the beginning of Rabi u s sani the government of Kabul was given to Zain Khan Koka, and Raja Man Singh was recalled to Court At the end of the same month Khan khanan Mirza Khan made a rapid journey from Gujarat with 'Azdu d daula, and was most graciously received On the 28th Rajab Sadik Khan came from Bhakar Man Singh arrived in Sha ban, and at the end of the year he was appointed governor of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna About the same time the government of Kashmir was given to Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, and Kasim Khan *Mu bahr* was recalled Sadik Khan was sent to Swat and Bajaur against the Yusufzais, and the *jagirs* of Man Singh at Sialkot and elsewhere were granted to him Isma'il Kuli Khan was recalled from Swat and Bajaur, and sent to Gujarat, to replace Kalij Khan, who was summoned to Court The government of Bihar and Bengal was conferred on Kunwar Man Singh

THIRTY FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday,

4th Jumada-l awwal, 997, (11th March, 1589). (*The usual festival of eighteen days.*)[240]

Kalij Khan arrived from Gujarat, and was appointed to assist Raja Todar Mal[241] in Revenue and Civil administration. Hakim 'Ainu-l Mulk returned from his embassy to Tatta, with the envoys of Jani Beg Tarkhan, who brought the offerings of the Beg along with a letter.

On the 22nd Jumada-s sani, 997, the Emperor started to pay a visit to Kashmir and Kabul. On reaching Bhimbhar,[242] at the beginning of the mountains of Kashmir, he there left the ladies of the *harem* with the Prince Murad, and went on express. On the 1st Sha'ban he reached Srinagar, where he remained some days, visiting the city and neighbourhood. When the rainy season came on, letters were sent for the ladies of the *harem* and Prince Murad to go to Rohtas, and there await his return. Amir Fathu-lla Shirazi ('Azdu-d daula) died in Kashmir, to the great sorrow of the Emperor. Shaik Faizi wrote an elegy upon him. . . .

On the 27th Ramazan the Emperor started for Kabul by way of Pakhali and the fort of Atak. Abu-l Fath, one of His Majesty's friends and companions, died at Dhamtaur, and was buried at Hasan Abdal. Prince Murad and the ladies, by command of the Emperor, came up to Atak from Rohtas. Here Shahbaz Khan Kambu was sent against the remaining Afghans. His Majesty then crossed the Indus, and proceeded on to Kabul, where he arrived on the 22nd Zi-l ka'da. Hakim Humam and Mir Sadr Jahan, who had been sent on an embassy to Mawarau-n nahr, now returned, bringing

[240]*Badauni (vol. ii., p. 365) places some of the following events in the thirty-third year.*

[241]*"Who had grown old and stupid and had lately received a wound from a sabre at the hands of an enemy who lay in ambush for him."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 365.*

[242]*"Which the people of Kashmir call Kaji-dar."—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 563.*

with them an ambassador from Abdulla Khan, who was the bearer of a letter and presents. His Majesty spent two months at Kabul, often visiting the gardens and places of interest. All the people of Kabul, noble and simple, profited by his presence.

Here intelligence reached him that Raja Todar Mal *Wakilu-s saltanat*, and *mushrif-i diwan*, and Raja Bhagwan Das *amiru-l umara* had died at Lahore.[243] On the 8th Muharram, 998, the Emperor started on his return[244] to Hindustan, leaving the government of Kabul in the hands of Muhammad Kasim *Mir bahr*, with Tokhta Beg Kabuli, and . . . several amirs, as co-adjustors. He gave the government of Gujarat to Mirza 'Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash *'Azam Khan*, who held the government of Malwa.[245] He recalled me, Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the author of this work, to Court. To Khan Khanan he gave Jaunpur instead of the *jagir* which he had held in Gujarat.[246]

[243]*Badauni cannot repress his bitter religious hatred, even in recording the deaths of these faithful servants of the throne. His words are (vol. ii, p. 371). "They went to their everlasting abode in hell." He has some verses also, conceived in the same spirit. Abu-l Fazl is more generous. Of Todar Mall he says that "for honesty, rectitude, manliness, knowledge of business, and administrative ability, he was without a rival in Hindustan."—Akbar nama, vol. iii, p. 595.*

[244]*He met with two serious falls on his journey homewards. One at a hyæna hunt, the other from a female elephant which was attacked by a furious male.—Akbar nama, vol. iii, p. 597.*

[245]*Malwa was given to Shahab Khan, but 'Azam Khan, in spite against his successor, wasted the province and laid it desolate (khak siyah) before leaving it.—Badauni, vol. ii, p. 372.*

[246]*It was at this time that Khan Khanan was elevated to the wakalat or premiership. (This fact should ap-*

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 14th Jumada-l awwal, 998. *(The usual celebration at Lahore).*

The author of this work, with his escort of camel-riders, arrived at Court, having performed the journey[247] in twelve days. He was very kindly received. Raja Bhagwan Das being dead, his son Man Singh, one of the great nobles and governor of Bihar and Bengal, succeeded to the title of Raja, and the Emperor sent him a letter by one of his attendants with a robe and horse.

'AZAM KHAN'S CAMPAIGN IN GUJARAT

When 'Azam Khan arrived in Gujarat, he essayed to conquer the territory of the Jam,[248] one of the *zamindars* of that quarter who maintained a numerous body of men. The Jam, in concert with Daulat Khan, son of Amin Khan, ruler of Junagarh. and *locum tenens* of his father, and several other *zamindars,* assembled nearly twenty thousand horse. 'Azam Khan divided his army into seven divisions, and some severe fighting followed. Saiyid Kasim Barha, in command of the advanced force, fought bravely. Khwaja Muhammad Rafia, commander of the left, was killed with some other *amirs,* old servants of the State. Mir Sharafu-d din, nephew of Mir Abu Turab. was killed with the van. Four thousand Rajputs fell in the battle. The eldest son and representtative of the Jam, with his *wazir,* were among the slain. Victory declared itself in favour of 'Azam Khan. The date of the battle was 6th Shawwal, 998 H.[249]

pear in page 597 of vol. iii., of the Lucknow edition of the Akbar-nama, but there is an omission there of several lines.)

[247] *"Six hundred kos."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 372.*

[248] *"Sattarsal" by name.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 373.*

[249] *Briggs justly observes, that as no results followed*

The city of Lahore had been for some years (*chand sal*) the royal residence, and many chiefs of that quarter had come to wait upon the Emperor. But Jani Beg, of Tatta, although he had sent letters and tribute, had never come in person to enrol himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khan-khanan was now appointed governor of Multan and Bhakar, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Sind and the Biluchis. In the month of Rabi'u-s sani he was sent on his enterprise along with . . . and a number of nobles, whose names are too numerous to record. He had a hundred elephants and a train of artillery. Khwaja Muhammad Mukim, an old servant of the State, was appointed *bakhshi*. The King of Poets (Faizi) found the date of this enterprise in the words "*Kasad-i Tatta*."

THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 24th Jumada-l awwal, 999 H. (11th March, 1591). (*Usual rejoicings*).

In Shawwal of this year four servants of the State were selected to go on missions to the four rulers of the Dakhin. The King of Poets, Shaikh Faizi, was sent to Raja 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur. Khwaja Aminu-d din was sent to Burhanu-l Mulk, who, supported by the arms of the Imperial Government, held Ahmadnagar, the seat of his ancestors. Mir Muhammad Amin was sent to 'Adil Khan, the ruler of Bijapur; and Mir Mirza to Kutbu-l Mulk, the ruler of Golconda. Shaikh Faizi received directions to proceed to Burhanu-l Mulk after having terminated his own mission.

On the 28th Zi-l hijja Prince Shah Murad, better known by his cognomen, "Pahari Jiu", was appointed to the Government of Malwa, receiving the standard,

this "victory", it was most likely a defeat.—Briggs, Firishta, vol. ii., p. 264.

kettle-drums, the *taman*, the *tugh* banner, and all the insignia pertaining to a prince royal, Isma'il Kuli Khan was appointed to be his *vakil* (general manager), and . . . were also sent to serve under him. When the Prince reached Gwalior, he found that Madhukar, *zamindar* of Undachah, who held a prominent position among the Rajas of these parts, on account of his numerous adherents, had seized upon the *parganas* of Gwalior. So the Prince resolved to chastise him. Madhukar assembled his numerous forces to resist, but he was defeated in battle,[250] and obliged to fly into the jungles and hills.[251] All his territory was ravaged, and then his son, Ram Chandar, who was his eldest son and representative, came humbly to beg for mercy, and to be admitted a subject of the Imperial throne. He waited on the Prince, and presented a large tribute, and the Prince sent him to the Emperor, who, when he arrived, granted him pardon for his offences. The Prince took up his residence at Ujjain.

'Azam Khan, after his victory over the Jam, remained for a time at Ahmedabad, and then resolved upon the conquest of Surath and the fort of Junagarh. Daulat Khan, son of Amin Khan, who had succeeded his father as chief, had been wounded in a battle with the Jam, and was dead. Having determined upon this campaign, 'Azam Khan proceeded to the country. The son of Daulat Khan, with his father's ministers, took refuge in the fortress (of Junagarh) and temporized. But when they found matters going ill with them, the ministers begged for mercy, and brought the youth to 'Azam Khan, presenting the keys of the fortress, and professing their allegiance. This conquest was effected on the 5th Zi-l ka'da.

Khan-khanan, who marched to conquer Tatta, laid

[250]*In the vicinity of Narwar.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 378.*

[251]*Where he died a natural death.*

siege to the fortress of Sihwan Jani Beg, with all the *zamindars* of that country, came with *gharabs* and boats armed with artillery, to give battle Khan Khanan raised the siege, and marched forwards When he arrived at Nasrpur, there was a distance of seven *kos* between the rival forces Jani Beg advanced to battle with more than a hundred *ghrabs* and two hundred boats (*kishti*) full of archers, gunners and large guns Khan Khanan, although he had only twenty five *ghrabs*, went to meet him, and the fight began The battle went on for a night and a day, but victory at length declared in favour of the Imperial arms Jani Beg had two hundred men killed in his *ghrabs*, seven *ghrabs* were taken and the rest made off This battle was fought on the 26th Muharram, 1 000 H After his defeat, Jani Beg withdrew to a spot[252] on the banks of the river, which was flanked by water and morasses (*chihla*) Here he entrenched his force Khan Khanan raised batteries before it, and besieged it for two months During this time the Emperor sent 150,000 rupees then 100 000 rupees, then 100 000 *mans* of grain, with several[253] large guns and many gunners, to reinforce Khan Khanan He also sent Raja Rai Singh, a noble of four thousand, by the route of Jesalmir

THIRTY SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, 6th Jumada l akhir, 1 000 H (*Usual rejoicings at Lahore*)

Jalala the sectary, who had fled to 'Abdu lla Khan

[252]*Firishta transcribes this account, but here he uses the more specific word bini, a naze or promontory Briggs renders the passage by a paraphrase, "on a spot of ground surrounded by a swamp, which was flooded at high water"*

[253]*Badauni (vol ii, p 379) specifies the number as one hundred*

(in Badakhshan), now returned, and again engaged in revolt and robbery. On New Year's Day Ja'far Beg Asaf Khan, the *bakhshi*, was named to lead an army against him in communication with Muhammad Kasim Khan, governor of Kabul. I, the author, was appointed to the post of *bakhshi*. At the end of Sha'ban, Zain Khan Koka, who had been sent to settle the country of Swat and Bajaur, and to root out those Afghans who had escaped the sword, was ordered to march and exterminate Jalala.

On the 24th Shawwal, agreeing with 12th Amurdad of the 37th year of the reign, the Emperor set off hunting to the banks of the Chinab, on the way to Kashmir. He passed the Ravi, and stayed for five days, enjoying himself in the garden of Ram Das. From thence he made a march of three *kos*. Then he apppointed Kalij Khan and Mota Raja to take charge of affairs at Lahore. As it was now the rainy season, and the waters were out, he left Prince Salim to march on slowly with the camp, while he hastened on with his hunting attendants to the Chinab. Here he received intelligence that Yadgar, nephew of Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, governor of Kashmir, had conspired with some disaffected Kashmiris, and having raised the standard of revolt, had assumed the title of Sultan. Kazi 'Ali, the *diwan* of Kashmir, and Hasa Beg Shaikh Umari, the collector (*tahsildar-i akhraj*), attacked him with their men, but Kazi 'Ali was killed, and Husain Beg was glad to escape half dead[251] to Rajauri. His Majesty sent Farid Bakhshi with a party of *amirs*, such as . . . .. and a thousand Badakhshani Aimak horsemen, into Kashmir. He himself crossed the Chinab, and waited there for a while hunting, until Prince Salim came up with the camp.

Khan-khanan had besieged Jani Beg for two months. Every day there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Sindians had got possession of the roads,

[251]*Through the passes of Kashmir.*

and prevented the passage of provisions Grain had consequently become very scarce, and bread exceedingly dear Khan Khanan had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the *pargana* of Jun near Tatta But he sent a portion of his force, under Saiyid Bahau d din Bukhari Mir Muhammad Ma sum Bhakari, and other of his officers to invest Sihwan. Jani Beg, assuming Sihwan force to be weak in numbers, marched against it When Khan Khanan heard of this movement, he sent off with all possible speed Daulat Khan Lodi, Khwaja Muhammad Hakim *Bakhshi*, Dharu son of Raja Todar Mal, Dal Bait the son of Rai Singh and to reinforce the Sihwan division This detachment marched eighty *kos* in two days, and effected a junction

Next day Jani Beg came up and arrayed his army Daulat Khan also made his dispositions His force amounted to only two thousand, while Jani Beg had more than five thousand But confident in the Imperial good fortune they went into battle Raja Todar Mal's son Dharu fought most bravely, and was killed The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Jani Beg flew towards the banks of the river He stopped at the village of Unarpur,[95] on the banks of the river, and again entrenched himself Khan Khanan upon his side and the Sihwan force upon the other bore down upon him and besieged him There was fighting every day At length Jani Beg s men were reduced to eat their horses and camels, and many were killed every day by the fire of the guns and muskets Jani Beg was compelled to make an offer of capitulation, and to promise to go and wait upon the Emperor He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded It being the rainy season, Khan Khanan remained in the village of Sann, in the vicinity of Sihwan, for that time The fort of Sihwan was surrendered and Jani Beg gave his daugh

[95] Var *"Ambarpur"*

ter in marriage to Mirza Iraj, son of Khan-khanan. He also surrendered twenty *ghrabs*.

The intelligence of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, as he deemed it a good augury of his success in Kashmir. He then continued his journey to Kashmir, and when he arrived near Bhimbhar, which is at the beginning of the mountain passes, he received intelligence that his army, having made five or six marches in the mountains, had been attacked by a force of Kashmiris and men belonging to Yadgar, who had blockaded the pass of Kartal.[256] But these men were unable to hold their ground against the brave soldiers of the army, and took to flight. Yadgar came up as far as Hamirpur with a large force to oppose the progress of the royal army; but in the course of the night a party of Afghans and Turkomans belonging to Mirza Yusuf Khan fell upon him and put him to death. Three days afterwards his head was brought to the Emperor, and was exposed as a warning. The Emperor's good fortune thus secured an easy victory for him. It was a curious coincidence, that the day on which the Emperor crossed the river of Lahore to proceed to Kashmir, was the day on which Yadagar broke out in rebellion and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name.

On the 23rd Zi-l hijja, the Emperor left Prince Daniyal behind in charge of the ladies of the *harem* because he was not well, and he was directed to proceed with them to the fort of Rohtas. The Emperor himself went on rapidly to Kashmir, taking me with him in attendance. On the 8th Muharram, 1,001, he reached Kashmir, and stayed there eight days, riding about and hunting water-fowl. He conferred the government of Kashmir on Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, and left a number of officers with him. such as . . . On the 6th Safar he started on his return journey, and embarking in a

[256] *This is very doubtful name, see supra. It is written Kartal, Kamarbal, Kartal and Kenarbal.*

boat, he proceeded towards Bara-mula, on the confines of Kashmir, in the way to Pakhali. On the road he saw a reservoir called Zain-lanka. This reservoir is inclosed on the west, north and south by mountains, and it is thirty *kos* in circumference. The river Behut (Jilam) passes through this lake. Its water is very pure and deep. Sultan Zainu-l 'abidin carried out a pier of stone to the distance of one *jarib* into the lake, and upon it erected a high building. Nothing like this lake and building is to be found in India. After visiting this edifice, he went to Bara-mula, where he disembarked, and proceeded by land to Pakhali. When he reached that place, there was a heavy fall of snow and rain. From thence he went on rapidly to Rohtas. I, the author of this history, and . . . were ordered to follow slowly with the ladies of the *harem*. It is a curious fact, that when the Emperor started on his return from Kashmir, he observed, "It is forty years since I saw snow, and there are many men with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never seen it. If a snow-storm should come upon us in the neighbourhood of Pakhali, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st Rabi'u-l awwal he reached the fort of Rohtas, and there rested. On the 13th he started for Lahore, the capital, and on the 6th Rabi'u-s sani he arrived there

Intelligence here reached him that Raja Man Singh had fought a great battle with the sons of Katlu Afghan, who, since his death, had held the country of Orissa, and having defeated them, he had annexed that extensive country which lies beyond Bengal to the Imperial dominions

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with the 17th Jumada s sani, 1,001 (11th March, 1593) (*Rejoicings*)

In the midst of the rejoicings, on the 24th Jumada s sani, Khan Khanan arrived with Jani Beg, the ruler of

Tatta, and was graciously received. Shah Beg Khan, and . . . other *amirs* who had taken part in this campaign, also presented themselves at Court, and were suitably rewarded, with *jagirs*, increase of allowances and promotion.

At the time when the fort of Junagarh and the country of Surath were subdued and annexed to the Imperial dominions, Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati, who was in that part of the country, fled and betook himself to Khangar, the zamindar of the country of Kach. 'Azam Khan attacked Khangar and ravaged some of his territories. This induced him to proffer his own allegiance and to make Muzaffar a prisoner. Under this arrangement the son of 'Azam Khan made a sudden unexpected attack upon the place where Muzaffar was staying, and took him prisoner. As they were going along, Muzaffar made an excuse for retiring into privacy, and then cut his throat with a razor so that he died. His head was then cut off and sent to 'Azam Khan, who sent it on to the Emperor.

One hundred and twenty elephants, taken by Raja Man Singh in Orissa, now arrived at Court, and were presented to the Emperor. 'Azam Khan Mirza 'Aziz Koka had now been absent from Court ten years, so a *farman* was written calling him to Court, to receive the marks of royal approbation. Meanwhile some mischief-makers had reported to the Khan some unkind words which the Emperor was said to have used regarding him.[257] So on the 1st Rajab he embarked in a ship with his sons and family, and sailed for Hijjaz. When the Emperor was informed of this, he gave the country of Gujarat to Prince Shah Murad, and a *farman* was issued directing him to proceed from Malwa to Gujarat. Muhammad Sadik Khan, one of the great nobles, was

[257]*He had long entertained the desire of going to Mecca.*

appointed his *vakil*, and the *sarkars* of Su'rat, Broach and Baroda, were assigned to him in *jagir*.

On the 21st Amurdad of the 38th year of the reign, agreeing with 14th Zi-l kada, 1,001H, Zain Khan Koka and Asaf Khan, who had been sent to chastise the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur, and to repress Jalala the sectary, killed a great many of them and sent the wives and family of Jalala and of Wahdat 'Ali, his brother, with all their friends, nearly four hundred[258] in number, to Court.

On the 29th Zi-l kada the government of Malwa was given to Mirza Shah Rukh; and Shahbaz Khan Kambu, who had been three years in prison, was released; and appointed to be the *vakil* and general manager of the affairs of Malwa, under Shah Rukh.

On the 12th Muharram, 1,002, Mirza Rustam,[259] son of Sultan Husain Mirza, son of Bahram, son of Shah Isma'il Safawi (Shah of Persia), who held the government of Zamin-dawar, came to bring a complaint to the Emperor, accompanied by his sons and family. (*Grand reception*). The Emperor presented him with a *kror* of *tankas*, made him a *panj-hazari*,[260] and gave him Multan in *jagir*

At this time the Prince of Poets, Shaikh Faizi, returned from his mission to Raja 'Ali Khan and Burhanu-l Mulk Dakhini. Mir Muhammad Amin, Mir Munir, and Aminu-d din also returned from their missions to the different rulers of the Dakhin. Burhanu-l Mulk had received favours and assistance from His Majesty, but now he did not send suitable tribute, nor did he act in a grateful and becoming way. His tribute

[258] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 388) gives the incredible number of "14,000".*

[259] *He was unable to maintain himself in Zamindawar against the enmity of his brother and the increasing power of he Uzbeks.*

[260] *A commander of 5,000.*

did not exceed fifteen elephants, some fabrics of th Dakhin, and a few jewels. So the Emperor determine to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, and on the 21s Muharram he appointed Prince Daniyal to commanc the invading army. Khan-khanan, Rai Singh,[261] Rai Bil, Hakim 'Ainu-l Mulk, and other *amirs* of Malwa, and *jagirdars* of the *subas* of Ajmir and Dehli, were appointed to attend him. Seventy thousand horse were ordered on this campaign. The Emperor himself went out with them, hunting as he went, as far as the river of Sultanpur, thirty-five *kos* from Lahore. Khan-Khanan, in attendance upon Prince Daniyal,[262] had come as far as Sirhind, and was summoned to hold a Council with the Emperor. He joined the royal party at Shaikhupur, and the campaign in the Dakhin was re-considered. Khan-khanan was now ordered to proceed on the service alone, without troubling Prince Daniyal. An order was published that the army of the Dakhin was to serve under Khan-khanan, and Prince Daniyal was recalled. With high marks of favour Khan-khanan commenced the march. He took leave of the Emperor at Agra, and His Majesty returned, hunting as he went, to the capital Lahore.

I have thus written a history of the occurrences of the reign of the Emperor Akbar, as perfect as my poor pen can accomplish, up to the thirty-eighth year of his reign. If life is spared and grace is given to me, I will, please God, also record the events of days to come, so that my volume may be completed.

HUSAIN KHAN TUKRIYA[263]

e was called *Tukriya*, from the fact of his having issu-

[261] *Whom one might call Rai Sag, says Badauni (vol. p. 389), sag meaning dog.*

[262] *The Prince at this time married a daughter of n-khanan.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 389.*

[263] *These two Extracts are from the biographical*

ed an order, when he was Governor of Lahore, to the effect that Hindus should bear on their shoulders a discriminating mark which being called in Hindi, *Tukri*, obtained for him the nick name of *Tukriya* He was nephew and son in law of Imam Mahdi Kasim Khan, and was a *mansabdar* of 2 000 He died A H 983 [264]

MIR FATHU LLA SHIRAZI

In the year 990 H, corresponding with the 26th of the Ilahi, the Amir arrived at Court from the Dakhin, and was received with royal favour He was directed, in conjunction with the Ministers, to revise the system of administration, and to inquire into the management of the civil and revenue administration [265] On this duty he was engaged for many years, and, in token of the King's satisfaction, was honoured with the title of 'Azdu d daulah He was a very learned man, and was better versed in every kind of knowledge, theoretical and practical, than any man in Khurasan, 'Irak or Hindustan In short, in the whole world he was without a rival He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment For instance, he made a wind

portion of the work, which comes in at the end of the reign of Akbar They appeared in the old vol of 1849

[264]*Some of the proceedings of this enthusiast will be found in the Extracts from Badauni See Muntakha but Tawarikh*

The Ma asiru l Umara tells us that this order was issued in consequence of his having one day saluted a Hindu, who passed by with a long beard, the distinctive mark of a Musulman We do not learn whether this edict was approved or annulled In the decline of the republic, when a similar measure was proposed at Rome with respect to the slaves, a wise man exclaimed, "quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos coepissent!" Seneca, De Clementia, i, p 24

[265]*bih tafshih mu'amilat 'ali wa ishtighal diwani*

mill which produced flour by a self-generated mo-
ment. . . . In Kashmir, he departed for the land of et-
nity in the year 997 H.

SULTAN MAHMUD KHAN OF MULTAN[266]

A few days after, Sultan Mahmud assembled an arm
and marched on Shor,[267] when Jam Bayazid, leading
out 'Alam Khan, with the general consent of his follow-
ers, advanced to the distance of twenty miles from Shor
to meet him. When he reached the Ravi, he halted, and
sent a letter to Daulat Khan Lodi, acquainting him
with the particulars of the movement. Upon receipt of
this intelligence, Daulat Khan Lodi, at the head of the
Panjab forces, came to the assistance of Jam Bayazid
before the conflict was at an end, and despatched a con-
fidential person to Sultan Mahmud, to enter into a
negotiation for peace. At last, through his meditation,
a peace was arranged, under the terms of which the
Ravi was to be the boundary. Daulat Khan then sent
Sultan Mahmud back to Multan, and Jam Bayazid to
Shor; after which, he himself proceeded to Lahore.

Notwithstanding that the terms of peace had been
adjusted by so wise a man as Daulat Khan, yet it did
not endure long. In the interim, Mir Jakir Zand,[268]

[266] *These extracts are from the separate history of Multan. They were printed in the old vol. of 1849.*

[267] *Shor or Shorkote, is twenty-six miles north of Tulamba, and on the road from that place to Jhang. Among the extensive ruins of this place, the most re-arkable is a mound of earth, surrounded by a brick all, and high enough to be seen from a circuit of six eight miles. Native tradition represents it to be the pital of a Raja of the name of Shor, who was conquer- by a king from the west.—Burnes, Bokhara, vol. iii., 131.*

[268] *This agrees with the name as given by Briggs, in the original of Firishta it is Mir 'Imad Gurdezi.*

with his two sons, named Mir Ilahdad, and Mir Shahdad, came to Multan from Mavi. It was Mir Shahdad that introduced the principles of the Shia creed into Multan.

As the Langah family had great respect for Malik Suhrab Dudari, Mir Jakir Zand could not remain in Multan. He therefore sought the protection of Jam Bayazid, who treated him with respect, and was pleased to grant a portion of his private domain for the support of the Mir's family.

Jam Bayazid was a man of beneficent character and of *generous spirit and was particularly anxious to pro*mote the interests of the learned and virtuous. He is said to have sent their pensions to Multan from Shor, even during the period of actual hostilities. His generosity towards men of talent was so notorious, that many persons of distinction quitted their homes and took up their abode at Shor. He earnestly invited many others to resort to that place, and among them Maulana 'Azizu-lla, pupil of Maulana Fathu-lla, whom he urgently pressed to come. On his apprach to Shor, Jam Bayazid received him with much honour, conducted him to his private apartments, and ordered his servants to pour water over the Maulana's hands, and then, by way of a blessing, to sprinkle the same water on the four corners of his house.

There is a curious anecdote concerning the Maulana and Shaikh Jalalu-d din Kuraishi, *vakil* of Jam Bayazid, which, though not much to the purpose of this history, is yet here recorded for an example, and as an awakening from the sleep of neglect. It is this: When the Jam received the Maulana with such unusual distinction, and took him into his private apartments,

In many other respects there is a great difference between the original and translation, and it is evident that the translator must have used a different manuscript in this portion of his work.

the Shaikh sent to the Maulana, and told him t
Bayazid had given him his compliments, and
that the Maulana should select for himself one
slave-girls who had been ordered to attend him.
Maulana sent one of his own servants to Jam Ba
and said in reply, "God forbid that a man should
look upon the women of his friend; moreover,
sentiments are unworthy of my advanced age."
Bayazid replied that he had no knowledge of the im
ed message. The Maulana being much embrassed
this, cursed the person that sent the message to
saying, "May his neck be broken!" and returned to
home without even seeing Jam Bayazid, who was
informed of his departure until he had actually left
dominions. It so happened that the curse of the
lana took effect; for after Shaikh Jalau-d din came
Shor, having deserted the service of Sultan Sikandar,
chanced one night to miss his footing, when he fell
an upper storey with his head downwards. and liter
broke his neck.

After the conquest of the Panjab in 930 H., by
late Zahiru-d din Muhammad Babar Badshah Gh
that monarch, at the time of his return to Dehli, sent
commission to Mirza Shah Husain Arghun, governor
Tatta, ordering him to take charge of Multan and i
neighbouring districts. He accordingly crossed the riv
near the fort of Bhakkar, and marched towards Multa
with a large army. The wind of the divine wrath b
to blow, and a great flood arose. When information
this reached Sultan Mahmud, he trembled. Then
collected all his forces, and advanced to the distance o
two days' journey from the city of Multan. He sen
Shaikh Bahau-d din Kuraishi, successor to the celebra
ted Shaikh Bahadu-d din Zakariya (may God sanctify
sepulchre!), as an ambassador to Mirza Shah Husain
nd appointed Maulana Bahlol, who was noted for th
race of his eloquence, as well as the elegance of hi
leas, to accompany the Shaikh. The Mirza receiv

them with much honour and said that he had come with the view of chastising Sultan Mahmud, and of visiting Shaikh Bahau d din Zakariya's tomb The Maulana stated that it would suffice if the chastisement of Sultan Mahmud were effected at a distance, in the same manner as the Prophet had mentally admonished Awais Karn, and that Shaikh Bahau d din was already come to his presence, inasmuch as he himself was the representative of Zakariya, and that there was therefore no need of his troubling himself to proceed any further They were, however, unsuccessful in accomplishing the objects of their interview, and returned to the Sultan, who died suddenly in the same night, poisoned, it is said, by Langar Khan, one of his slaves He died A H 933, after a reign of twenty seven years

RESPECTING SULTAN HUSAIN, SON OF SULTAN MAHMUD OF MULTAN

After the death of Sultan Mahmud, Kawam Khan Langah and Langar Khan, who were the commanders of Sultan Mahmmud's army, deserted their king and joined Mirza Shah Husain Arghun, and having met with a kind reception from him, they subsequently took possession of the different towns of Multan in the name of the Mirza, while the remaining Langah chiefs, confounded at this intelligence, hastened to Multan and proclaimed the son of Sultan Mahmud as king, under the title of Sultan Shah Husain, and read the *khutba* in his name—though he was but a child But he was king only in name for Shaikh Shuja'u l Mulk Bukhari, son in law of Sultan Mahmud assuming the office of *wazir*, secured to himself all the regal power

By the advice of this inexperienced man, they took refuge in the fort, which had scarcely one month s provisions in it, while Mirza Shah Husain, deeming the death of Sultan Mahmud a most convenient opportunity for the conquest of the country, immediately laid siege to the fort

After a few days, the garrison finding the provisions of the fort were consumed, and that they were about to perish, came to Shaikh Shuja-l Mulk, who was the cause of his country's disasters, and solicited his permission to divide their forces and give the enemy battle, representing at the same time that they had still some vigour left, that their horses were fresh and that it was not improbable that the gale of victory might incline to their side; and that to remain inactive and beleaguered as they were expedient only when there was some hope of receiving succour from without,—which was not at all a probable contingency in their case.

The Shaikh did not make any reply, but retiring to a private apartment, he invited the attendance of some of the chiefs, and said that as the sovereignty of Shah Husain Langah had not as yet been well established, he was afraid, lest most of their men, on making a sally from the fort, should take the opportunity to desert, and join Mirza Shah Husain, in hope of receiving a favourable reception, and that the small remnant who had regard for their reputation, and who would make a stand, would be slain. Maulana Sa'du-lla of Lahore, a learned man of that time, who was in the fort of Multan on this occasion, relates that a few months after the siege had commenced, when all the avenues of the fort were closed by the enemy, and no one was able to enter for the purpose of rendering assistance, or go out for the purpose of escaping his doom (for the attempt was attended with certain destruction), the garrison were at last reduced to such extremities, as to be compelled to consume dogs and cats, which were partaken of with as much avidity as if they had been the choicest goats and lambs. The protection of the fort was committed by Shaikh Shuja'u-l Mulk to the charge of a vagabond, named Jadu, who had three thousand militia of the country under him. That wretch entered all the houses wherever he had the least expectation of finding grain, and plundered them so unscrupulously, that the people

earnestly prayed for Shaikh Shuja'u l Mulk's destruc tion

At last, the besieged were reduced to so desperate a condition that they preferred being killed to a slow death by famine, and they accordingly threw themselves down from the walls of the fort into the ditch Mirza Shah Husain, being aware of their distress, refrained from killing them After a siege of one year and several months, his men, one night towards the dawn enered the fort, and made great slaughter All the inhabitants between the age of seven and seventy were taken pri soners They treated most oppressively all the citizens on whom there was the least suspicion of possessing wealth, and treated them with various kinds of indig nity This took place at the close of A H 934

Maulana Sa du lla gives an account of what hap pened to himself in the following words

"When the fort was captured by the Arghuns, a party of them entered my house, seized on my father, Maulana Ibrahim Jama, (who in studying and teaching various sciences for sixty five years, had in the evening of his life, lost the use of his sight) and made him pri soner Seeing the neatness and comfort of our house, they suspected that gold was somewhere concealed, and consequently treated us with great indignity Another person came and bound me and sent me as a present to the *nazir* of the Mirza The *nazir* was sitting on a wooden platform in the open area when I reached his house, and he ordered me to be bound with a chain, of which one end was tied to one of the feet of the platform I did not, however grieve for myself, but I could not help shedding tears when I recollected my father's sad condition

"After a while, he called for his escritoire, mended his pen, and then rose up and went into the house, with the intention of washing his hands and feet, and pray ing, before he sat down to write There was no one left in the place but myself, so I approached the platform,

THE HISTORY OF INDIA
BY
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Vol. 9. *Akbar-nama* by Shaikh Abu-l Fazl. Also comprises *Takmila-i Akbar-nama of Inayatu-lla*, *Akbar-nama* of Shaikh Illahdad, Faizi Sirhindi and *Wikaya'-i Asad Beg* or *Halat-i Asad Beg*.

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